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THE
LIFE AND PONTIFICATE
OF
SAINT PIUS THE FIFTH.

SUBJOINED IS A REIMPRESSION OF
A HISTORIC DEDUCTION
OF THE
EPISCOPAL OATH OF ALLEGIANCE TO THE POPE,
IN THE CHURCH OF ROME.

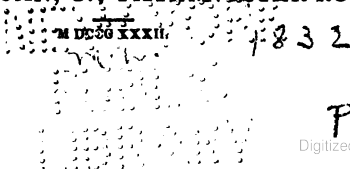
BY THE
REV. JOSEPH MENDHAM, M. A.

Deus, qui ad contraveniendos Ecclesie tue hostes, et ad divinum cultum reparandum, Beatum Pium Quintum Pontificem Maximum eligere dignatus es: fac nos ita tuis habere obsequiis, ut omnium hostium superatis insidiis, perpetua pace letemur: Per Dominum nostrum.

BREV. ROM. PROP. SANCT. DIE V. MAIL. IN FESTO S. PII QUINTI PAPAE ET CONFESSORIS.

'There are saints in the Calendar who are not in heaven, and saints in heaven who are not in the Calendar.'—*Historical Address, on the Calamities occasioned by Foreign Influences, in the Nomination of Bishops to Irish Sees.* By C. O'CONNOR, D.D. Part II. p. 488.

LONDON:
JAMES DUNCAN, 37, PATERNOSTER-RROW.



LONDON :
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES,
Stamford Street.

2807 W. 100
2100 W. 100
2100 W. 100

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TO THE

CATHOLIC AND UNITED CHURCH OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE,

WHOSE VENERATED FOUNDERS, AMIDST THE FLAMES OF SMITHFIELD AND
OXFORD, AND OTHER BRASEROS IN ENGLAND,
RESCUED CHRISTIANITY FROM THE GRINDING TYRANNY AND
DOCTRINAL POLLUTION OF THE

ANTI-CATHOLIC CHURCH OF ROME;

AND, BY UNS SEALING THE SEALED BOOK OF LIFE, OPENED TO ALL A SAFE
WAY OF SALVATION;

THIS BIOGRAPHY

OF ONE OF THE MOST RUTHLESS, YET CONSISTENT, OF HER ENEMIES,
IS GRATEFULLY AND AFFECTIONATELY PRESENTED BY A
FAITHFUL, ALTHOUGH UNWORTHY, SON.

P R E F A C E.

EXTENDED and distinct lives have appeared in the English language of the following pontiffs—of Alexander VI., by Alexander Gordon, M.A.; of Sixtus V., by Ellis Farneworth, M.A., a translation of Gregorio Leti; of Leo X., by William Roscoe, Esq.; of Pius VI., translated from the French of Chevalier Azara, as internal evidence suggests, the Memoirs being anonymous; and of Gregory VII., in the present year, by Sir Roger Greisley, Bart.* The life of

* It is to be regretted, that Archibald Bower, discouraged and disgusted with the treatment which he received, whether just or unjust, and in whatever degree, has executed the latter part of his History of the Popes so precipitately and superficially. He has, however, by this means, left open an extended and important field,—the whole modern history of the Papacy, from the time of Leo X. to the present,—in which the industry of an able historian may employ itself with considerable detail, and with as much advantage to the cause of literature. Such a work is in fact a desideratum. The materials are ample, although irregular. The general historians, in the Papal communion, ending with Ciaconio and his Continuators, have so smothered the popes with the cardinals, who consider the former as only *primi inter pares*, that less assistance is to be obtained from them than from incidental writers and biographers. To the last three centuries of Bower's History, containing about thirty pontificates, one hundred pages only are devoted: that is, three on an average to each!

Pius V. has not hitherto enjoyed this distinction; and yet there is no individual in the whole pontifical line more entitled to the attention of Englishmen; and none, of whom the biographical materials are more abundant and satisfactory.

The original biographers of the fifth Pius are three; and they wrote in the three different languages, Italian, or the vernacular, Spanish, and Latin.

The first, and far the most authentic and satisfactory, is Girolamo Catena. His work bears this title:—*Vita del Gloriosissimo Papa Pio V., Descritta da Girolamo Catena; Con una raccolta di Lettere del medesimo Pontefice a diversi Principi, e le risposte loro. Aggiuntovi i Nomi delle Galee, &c.* The first edition was printed at Rome in 1586, 4to.; the second at the same place in 1587, 8vo. Both of these are in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. The third edition was printed in Mantua, the same year, in 4to.; and a copy is in the British Museum, London. A fourth edition proceeded from Rome in 1647, 4to., to which the copy in my possession belongs.

In a modern life of Pius, which will be more distinctly noticed, by P. A. Maffei, and in his preface, page xxii., it appears from a testimony

which satisfied the compilers of the *Acta Sanctorum*, for May 5, volume i. page 616, and from the appendix to the last volume of Bzovius's *Ecclesiastical Annals*, that Catena was a man of eminent authority; much celebrated in the court of Rome; and secretary to cardinal Alessandrino, nephew of Pius V., to the congregation of bishops and to the Sacred Consulta. He drew his materials from the most unexceptionable sources, or from his own inspection, having well known Pius when living. His volume likewise was not only read and approved by Sixtus V., but printed by his authority and command, as well as sanctioned by a decree of the Senate of the Roman people. In his Dedication to Sixtus, the author writes, concerning his work,—‘I have derived all that
‘is written in these pages, partly from the
‘originals of Letters written by nuncios and
‘princes themselves, and from instructions and
‘writings, which have come into my possession, of
‘the Pope himself, partly from the manuscript
‘relations of those who conducted the affairs:
‘others I have myself inspected, and have had
‘communicated to me by mouth from the pontiff,’
&c. ‘Whatever was dubious, or to me uncertain,
‘or not to my purpose, (however valuable,) I
‘have altogether declined.’ These certainly are good qualifications.

It is rather remarkable, that the editor of the work in 1647 should affirm, that the work had hitherto been buried in obscurity, that is, for more than half a century. If this be the fact, it ought to produce some surprise. The Epistles translated into Italian, and appended to the life, are an interesting and important portion of the volume; and the use which has been made of them will appear. Tiraboschi, in his great work, informs us, that Catena published a Collection of Letters at Pavia, in 1577*.

Our next biographer is the Spaniard, Antonio de Fuenmayor. He was well descended and well educated. At the age of thirty he was made canon of Palencia, and died soon after. His work is thus entitled:—*Vida y Hechos de Pio V. Pontifice Romano, dividida en seis libros; Con algunos notables successos de la Christianidad del tiempo de su Pontificado, Por Don Antonio de Fuenmayor. Con Privilegio. En Madrid, Por Luis Sanchez. Año. M.D.XCV., 4to.* There were repeated editions of the work†: mine is the first. Fuenmayor vindicates himself in the present attempt, although never having set foot out of Spain, by the example of eminent writers in the same predicament; and relies upon

* *Storia della Lett. Ital.* tomo vii. p. 399, Firenze, 1809.

† *Antonii Bib. Hisp. Nov. tom. iii. p. 119.*

the information obtained from the individual to whom he dedicates his first labours, and who, from his situation, possessed every opportunity of acquaintance with the subject. It is observable, that although the Spaniard accurately follows Catena, and has apparently no other authority for the bulk of his narration, he has made but one solitary reference of a very general kind to his original. *Dize el Catena, autor Italiano, que esta nuestra historia escribe, &c., fol. 4, verso.*

On the same authority as is produced respecting Catena, Maffei gives the following account of the third of the biographers of Pius V., who wrote in Latin, Giovanni Antonio Gabuzio. He was one of the regular clergy of St. Paul ad Columnam; præfect of his own society; had formally attested the truth of his relation in an ordinary Roman process; had visited Bosco twice for the purpose of information; drew his account from the most authentic sources, as himself asserts; and was nearly contemporary with the acts which he records. The title of the work is:—*De Vita et Rebus Gestis Pii V. Pont. Max. Libri sex. Auctore Io. Antonio Gabutio Novariensi Presbytero Congregationis Clericorum Regularium S. Pauli. Cum Privilegio. Romae, Ex Typographia Aloisii Zannetti. MDCV. Superiorum Auctoritate.* The honour was be-

stowed upon this biography to be adopted by the Bollandists in their account of the day appointed for the service of the canonized Pius V., the 5th of May*. The work is dedicated to Paul V., a pontiff of congenial character, and suitably called upon by the panegyrist to imitate so illustrious a predecessor; that, as he represents, 'what Pius V., exhausted with age, and suddenly cut off, left but begun, *that*, and much more, Paul the Fifth, in the vigour of age and health, might happily prosecute, and accomplish.' He accordingly anticipates bright days of restored discipline, ecclesiastic dignity, repaired rights, and routed heresy, for the church under his patron's pontificate. It is by no means to the credit of this writer, that he has mentioned by name, of his predecessors, Fuenmayor only once†, and Catena not at all; although he is palpably indebted to both for the greater and most valuable portion of his work, not simply for the matter, but for the very expression and struc-

* A sweeping condemnation of three whole months of the *Acta Sanctorum*, the last, of May, including Gabutius, was issued by a particular decree of the Inquisition of Toledo, in my possession. The main offence was a doubt of one of the editors, whether the Carmelites could justly claim the prophet Elias as a founder. It is in the usual inveterate style, and glances on this subject. The date is November 14, 1695, and it is in Latin and Dutch. The Spanish Index of 1747, limited the general censure to particular specified portions, by the benefit of which Gabutius escapes.

† Page 239.

ture of the whole. Indeed, Gabutius (I give his name the Latin form, being known, here at least, only as a Latin writer) may be fairly considered as a translator of Catena, excepting his generally unimportant additions, and his sometimes important omissions. Indeed, it would be difficult for literature to produce another instance of such complete and shameless plagiarism. Of this, proof enough will appear in the body of the present work.

When no particular references are made for the statements in the following pages, it may be inferred, that the authority for them is one, or other, but principally the first or the last, of these three biographers. The reader, however, will perceive, that perhaps on every important occasion a reference is distinctly made.

The next *fountain* is a very extraordinary, valuable, and rather inaccessible one. It is a Collection of Letters by this pontiff, interspersed with some important letters to him, in five books. I am indebted to Jo. Alb. Fabricius for the information, if such, which I doubt, that there was an Italian edition of these epistles printed at Mantua, 1587, and two Latin ones at Cologne and Rome, in 1629 *. The only edition with

* Biblioth. Lat. Med. et Inf. Ætat. under Bullaria, or tom. i. p. 298, Patavii, 1754. I much suspect, from the indistinct reference of Fabri-

which I am acquainted, and which I use, is that of Goubau. Apostolicarum Pii Quinti Pont. Max. Epistolarum Libri Quinque. Nunc primum in lucem editi operâ et curâ Francisci Goubau. Antverpiæ, ex officina Plantiniana Balthasaris Moreti. M. DC. XL. This collection embraces the whole six years, and a portion of the seventh, of Pius's pontificate: the first book, containing the letters of the first two years, 1566 and 1567. Catena's Italian collection extends only over the years 1570 and 1571, with the short remaining period in 1572. These letters do not exactly coincide with Goubau's even in the space common to them both. That such a collection existed was well known; and Gabutius, at the close of his biography, expressed his intention of publishing it; but was prevented by death, and the task was performed by the editor now before us, who has assigned the letters, although, as it appears, not always accurately, to the corresponding portions of Gabutius's biography. And in the last edition of the *Vitæ Pontt.*, &c., Ciacconi, in the *Addit. Oldoini*, occurs the notice, *scripsit Pius—Epistolarum libros quinque* *. By

cuius, that the first collection at least is simply the Appendix to the edition of Catena, mentioned above, and printed, in the year assigned, at Mantua. I should think, likewise, that there is some mistake respecting the others, from the very language of Goubau's title.

* Tom. iii. col. 1016.

his own dedication to Prince Ferdinand, governor of the Belgic provinces, Goubau, who had no lack of zeal for the cause of his church, informs us, when some years ago he attended the legate of the king of Spain to Rome, as his scribe, he considered it as suitable to his office to collect these letters, which, in a notice to the reader, he says were buried among old ruins, and to give them to the world, (*veteribus Romæ ruinis oppressas, in lucem edere decrevi.*)

A considerable number of the more important and characteristic of these letters, especially as relating to France, was published in a French translation by De Potter, firstly at Paris, in 1826, and in 1827 at Bruxelles, in a very improved form, with plates, and the addition of a Roman Catholic Catechism, comprehending the whole penal ecclesiastic legislation on the subject of heresy, founded upon the most acknowledged authorities of the Roman church. I will freely confess that this selection first suggested to me the desirableness of an entire life of the pontiff, where the epistles would appear in their proper place and with due effect. The circumstance too that the affairs of this country are so much concerned in them, with other recommendations, and that this is the very portion omitted by the Belgic translator and editor, who has since edited other

things, confirmed a resolution, the results of which, it is trusted, will not prove unacceptable to the British and protestant reader. In this epistolary collection the pontiff draws his own picture ; and in this respect the work is a specimen of interesting autobiography. De Potter has justly observed that Lacretelle, in his valuable history of the Religious Wars in France, would have derived considerable advantage from these letters, had he been acquainted with them ; and it is evident that Sharon Turner, in the portion of his able history contemporary with the date of those letters would have found more matter useful to his purpose, had he enjoyed the opportunity of consulting the original, instead of being obliged to depend upon the selection of the French translator, whose plan admitted a reference to English history only collaterally.

There are likewise dispersed among the Epistles and Orations of Giulio Poggiano, published in four volumes at Rome, 1762, and other years, and in the fourth, twenty-one letters of this pontiff, nineteen in the year 1567, and two in the next. Of these it will be seen that some use has been made.

Besides the three professed lives of Pius, which have been described, others have been written,—a small one in French, by Moniot, in

1672, on his beatification in that year ; and one, perhaps the best, in the year of his canonization, 1712, by Maffei, entitled, *Vita di S. Pio Quinto Sommo Pontefice, Dell' Ordine de' Predicatori, scritti da Paolo Alessandro Maffei, Patrizio Volterrano, Cavaliere dell' Ordine di S. Stefano, e della Guardia Pontificia, Pubblicata sotto i gloriosi Auspici della Santità di Nostro Signore Papa Clemente XI. In Roma MDCCXII. Con licenza de' Superiori.* This biographer has made fair use of good and accessible authorities ; but he has nothing new, excepting the concluding portion respecting the beatification and canonization of Pius.

These are the proper and fundamental sources from which the present biography is derived. What other sources have been used will be seen in the course of the work itself.

It can hardly have escaped the observation of any reader of papal history how accurately the mode of speaking with respect to the first Christians by the heathens is adopted by the religionists of modern Rome, in speaking of the different denominations of Reformed Christians ; but with great increase of malignity *. This phraseology has been in a considerable degree preserved in

* See Tacitus and Pliny, and the first Christian apologists, or defenders of Christianity.

the following pages, both for curiosity, and to illustrate the genius of the religion. The reader, therefore, will find the terms *catholic* and *heretic* frequently applied as they are by the partisans of the papacy. But it has not seldom been thought proper to translate these terms and correspondent expressions into the truth; in order that Romanists may understand on what principle alone it is that a single instance of their own vituperative nomenclature is tolerated.

Upon the whole, the author ventures to lay the present work before the public, as a picture, not an imaginary, or, as the epithet is sometimes used, a philosophic, but a historic, one, of the papal constitution, in church, state, and doctrine, as finally settled on the basis of the Council of Trent, just closed and beginning to work, and as substantially existing up to, and at the present day. For about three centuries, therefore, at least, the church of Rome has exhibited herself as unchanged and unchangeable. This is a prerogative which her most consistent and best informed members and advocates claim for her on a more extended scale. Francis Plowden, Doctor of Laws, and barrister of Lincoln's Inn, in a pamphlet published in 1791, in London, 'The Case stated, occasioned by the Act of Parliament lately passed for the Relief of English

‘ Roman Catholics,’ in words rather memorable, has declared—‘ If any one says, or pretends to insinuate, that modern Roman Catholics differ *in one iota* from their predecessors, he is either deceived himself, or HE WISHES TO DECEIVE OTHERS. *Semper eadem* is not less emphatically descriptive of our religion than of our jurisprudence.’ There are nominal Protestants, who persist in either deceiving themselves, or wishing to deceive others, on this point ; and the public at least ought to be undeceived.

Whatever defects, or even faults, may be observable in the volume before the reader, the hope may be expressed that they will be only of such a description as those discovered in the History of the Council of Trent of Fra Paolo Sarpi, by another historian of the same council, Cardinal Pallavicino.

Sutton-Coldfield, June 26, 1832.

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THE
LIFE AND PONTIFICATE
OF
SAINT PIUS THE FIFTH.

CHAPTER I.

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FEW of the exercises of the moral faculty are more profitable than the contemplation of the specimens of human character and conduct produced by the various circumstances in which they have been placed; and He, who manifests his omnipotence and benevolence most illustriously by educing good from ill, has so constructed the machinery of his providence, as to make both its regular and irregular movements work with almost equal effect and certainty to the end designed. The examples of comparative rectitude in our race which history supplies, have certainly the most direct and legitimate

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tendency to ameliorate the mind which is occupied in surveying them. They invite to positive imitation, and produce in other ways a variety of moral results which are beneficial. What the benefit of the contrary, or vicious, characters loses in natural effect, it gains in majority of number of the instances themselves, and in the prevailing homogeneity and sympathy of those upon whom their example is to operate. It is in the indirect way of repulsion and terror, and by suggesting provisions against evil, that this class contributes to benefit the student of human character. The influence of either class, for intensity and effect, will, of course, be in proportion to the strength and depth of the features which they exhibit. And every intermediate shade and combination will each supply its appropriate instruction. It deserves likewise to be added, that an attentive inspection of the phenomena which biography, or the lives of individuals, presents, lets in much light upon the varied personal dispensations of Providence; and while it evinces, in more instances than are vulgarly apparent, the manifold wisdom, as well as justice, of God, it imparts the most salutary wisdom to man, urging him either to appro-

bation, imitation, and approach, or to abhorrence, precaution, and avoidance, as the signal or beacon in view may direct.

Of all the classifications of character and conduct displayed in the great almanac of history and biography, in whose pages more truth is written than the unwise will read, none is so boldly marked, and so irresistibly visible and obtrusive, as that spiritual dynasty and succession of individuals, who have long possessed, and still possess, the appellation of Popes. That the most ostentatious and pretending professors of a religion, which, as the true, and only true one, inculcates upon rebel man the profoundest humiliation, and the most rigid restriction of every particle and form of religious adoration to its Divine Author, should mainly distinguish themselves by the most exorbitant arrogance, and by an idolatry, substantially heathen, admitted, given, received, and even enjoined—is such a portent of iniquity, that, sunk and depraved as is the human character, this could hardly be believed to be a portrait of sober history. That the Most High, from his throne above, should behold on earth, among creatures, mortals, and sinners, a rival of his authority, sitting on the throne,

or altar, of his own temple, exhibiting himself there as God, and receiving the genuflexion of his adorers, at the very inauguration into his vicarious theocracy, might appear to be rather the dream of a visionary, than the enunciation of divine prophecy, or the avowal and boast of the guilty *.

Every human individual, of such a character and pretensions, must be an object of terrific interest. Of the whole line, however, perhaps the individual, whose life and conduct will occupy the present volume, is as fair, or average, a specimen as could be selected of a genuine representative of the

* We shall have more on this subject soon; meanwhile, there is hardly a more decisive and appalling instance of blasphemous compellation than occurs in a formal speech delivered at the Council of Lateran, assembled by Julius II., where, with much contextual impiety, that pontiff is addressed as *ALTER DEUS in terris*. See *PONT. OPT. MAX.*, which ought to be appropriate to Deity, in papal dedications and medals, in abundance. To the evasion of the application of *apostasy* to the Roman church, as expressing renunciation of the *profession* of Christianity, it is replied, that the Concordances, under '*apostasi*', will show, that *real* renunciation is all which is necessary to the meaning. And it is a little remarkable, that rival popes apply the epithet *apostaticus* to their opponents. *Grat. Decret. I., Dist. lxxix. caps. i. viii. ix.* Respecting the admitted application of the name *VICIS DEO* to Paul V., in a plate which may be seen impressed in the French original of Mornay's *Mystère, d' Iniquité*, see Bedell's *Letters to Wadesworth*, 1624, pp. 77, &c., where there is much on the general blasphemy. Barlow's *Brutum Fulmen*, 1681, pp. 131, &c., contains one of the most ample and authentic collections. The *Glossæ* possess every requisite of authenticity.

system, which generates the character, and is administered or governed by the person. He was neither the worst nor the best of the number. The papal system, indeed, discountenances in many instances, although in opposition to its general spirit and indulgence, the existence, or at least, publicity, of sensual vice in the person of its head—such as rendered Gregory VII. and Alexander VI. infamous. And yet, on the other hand, the characters of such occupants of the papacy as Clement XIV. could only be produced and maintained by influence foreign and adverse to the atmosphere in which their virtues shone and languished. This predicament was not inaptly expressed by the appellation given to the just named pontiff, of the *Protestant Pope*. But in Pius V. we have a pope, deformed by no sensuality, in either his private life or his pontificate; on the contrary, he is celebrated, and with truth, for such severity of manners, and such sanctity, as can be found in the palace of the Vatican, or under the dome of St. Peter's. There is likewise no pontiff, with whom the English nation has had so much acquaintance, and has such feeling cause to remember; unless possibly we except a con-

genial predecessor, Innocent III. But the chief interest of his active and vigorous administration arises from the unrelenting and indefatigable cruelty, with which his superstition, and the principles of the church under his government, urged him to prosecute and persecute the Christianity which he esteemed heresy, and to erect upon the ashes of murdered martyrs, who triumphed over the flames which consumed their bodies, that foul and insulting mockery of Christianity, which the Council of Trent, and the creed of the pope who closed it, had enacted. His virtues, in short, were those of his education. The Inquisition was literally his school and nursery. He had sucked at her breasts; and the nutritious fluid which he drew from them, was the venom of St. Dominic, and of the tender mercies of popery when it has power and is wroth. His exertions were unbounded and unwearied; and the ubiquity of his intelligence and interference almost that of a being above, or below, a mortal.

The principal, however, and perhaps most valuable feeling, which will be excited in the mind of the reader, as he follows the present narrative, will be, fervent and ador-

ing gratitude towards Him, who, by such means as pleased him best, having rescued our happy land from the ruthless gripe of a power by which it had long been oppressed and degraded, continued to defend it against repeated assaults from the same quarter, and enabled it, in the language of inspiration, to exclaim, 'Our soul is escaped from the snare of the fowlers: the snare is broken, and we are escaped *.' Happy England, in this respect, if she knew her own happiness; and happier still, if impelled by this gratitude, she learn to value the treasure in a greater degree, and resist all the seductions of the syren of indifference, false liberality, and impiety, to plunge into fresh guilt, and deserve the judgment of losing it by her own choice or consent! The reader should not be unapprised, or insensible of the fact, that the main professed design of the original biographer of Pius is to exhibit him as an object of *imitation*, more especially to his successors in the presumed apostolic chair; and the improvement made of this recommendation by Paul V., to whom the last of the three biographers of our subject dedicates his production, may serve as an intelligible intima-

* Ps. cxxiv.

tion to nations in general, and to this in particular, what they have to expect from the advancement of papal power.

The subject of the present biography was born in the town of Bosco, in the duchy of Milan, in the diocese of Tortona, and in the district of Allesandria della Paglia, from which Bosco is distant six miles. The ancient family of the Ghislieri was driven, in 1445, by the troubles of Bologna, to Bosco, where, however, their name was known still more antiently. The future pope was born January 17th, St. Anthony's day, 1504, of humble, but respectable parents, Paolo Ghislieri and Dominina Augeria; and received the name of Michele at his baptism. At the age of fourteen, disdaining the occupations for which he was designed, he assumed the habit of the Dominican order in the monastery of Voghera in Lombardy,—an order, for which his whole subsequent history betrays an instinctive predilection. Thence, for his proficiency, he was advanced to the monastery of Vigevano; and there he distinguished himself so honourably, that his superiors sent him to Bologna to complete his studies, where he became doctor, and had many pupils. He was ordained priest at Genoa in

1528, aged 24; and visiting his native place to perform his professional duties, which he found burnt by Lautrec, he settled at Sezzaio Castello. There he exercised the office of lecturer with great success for the space of sixteen years. He next went to Pavia, where he commended his devotion to the Roman see by thirty conclusions, or propositions, of which the greater part of the theologic division was in support of the authority of the Roman pontiff, and against the supposed heresies then prevailing. His attention at this time was mainly directed to the exercises of papal sanctity; and his favourite study was the lives of Inquisitor Dominic, and other similar saints. He twice presided over monasteries of his own order, with such exemplary discharge of the peculiar duties of his station, and enforcement of monastic discipline, as to obtain for him the name of Bernadino. His fame was now so high, that the great from a distance resorted to him as their confessor. The merits and integrity of Michele procured for him the priorate of the monastery, the responsibility of which was so burthensome to him, that he expressed his wish to resign it, and the still more natural, but terrific profession, that he preferred the

office of an inquisitor, from his ardent desire, (as Gabutius, who well understood him, adds,) to exterminate heretics and defend the Catholic faith. The biographer proceeds:—
' This illustrious and holy office, therefore, of
' inquiring into heretics, when conferred by
' his superiors, Michele undertook with so
' ardent a mind, and so executed, that he
' exhibited himself a formidable defender of
' Christian truth, and an eminent pupil of
' St. Dominic.'

About this time, 1543, the Grisons imbibed the medicine of evangelic truth from their neighbourhood to the Swiss cantons, which had been so enlightened. This to Rome was all venom and heresy. From the Grisons the doctrine penetrated to the Valteline, and the Val di Chiavenna, principal portions of the diocese of Como, of the duchy of Milan: and fears being entertained for Lombardy, as the most prompt and effectual remedy, F. Michele Ghislieri was selected to undertake the office of inquisitor at Como. His diligence in so grateful an occupation was such as might be expected. His ubiquitous and nocturnal visitations to procure information were so successful, that his zeal was in no want of objects on which to employ itself. In the

year 1550, the inquisitor being then in his forth-sixth year, a circumstance occurred of some notoriety and importance. Books were the principal and most formidable weapons of Protestant warfare. Twelve bales of these obnoxious articles were discovered, printed at Castel di Poschiave, which had been sent to a mercantile gentleman of Como for the purpose of distribution in the various cities of Italy, particularly in Cremona, Vicenza, Modona, Faenza, Sangenesi ; in Calabria likewise, namely, Cosenza and many castles in the diocese, where there was a correspondence between the parties. Michele, rising to the exigency, seized the books and detained them in the holy office ; but the vicar and the chapter, to whom appeal had been made, espoused the cause of the merchant, and the inquisitor was compelled to restore his prey, —but he accompanied it with his excommunication. The offenders were cited to Rome ; but their resentment put Michele in such jeopardy, that he felt it prudent to retire as he could, amidst considerable danger and difficulty, travelling at one time by night on foot, until at length he arrived in safety, on the eve of the Nativity, 1550, at the Eternal City, which he thus visited for the first time.

He was highly commended by the Cardinal Prefects of the holy office there for his resolute conduct.

Gabutius here introduces from his own stores an ironical presage of Michele's future election to the pontificate, in the question, which, upon his arriving at a monastery to which he belonged, at night, hungry, tired, and quite unlike himself, the uncourteous president put to him—What want you in this city? Do you think that you shall be chief pontiff? Will they elect you?—I am come, he replied, for the honour of Christ, &c.!

At this time there were at Coire two canons, candidates for the church, one of whom, named Planta, was accused of being a heretic and of profligate habits; but he was best supported of the two. The affair came before the Cardinal Inquisitors at Rome, who sent the tried and willing Michele to institute an inquiry and determine upon the case. He started on the expedition without the least reluctance or fear, and would not even use the precaution of disguise by changing his clothes. He condemned his man, and returned without harm.

He was afterwards sent to Bergamo, in the absence of the proper inquisitor, to exercise

his grateful function by proceeding against Giorgio Medolaco, a person of good family and connexions, charged with heresy. The friends of the persecuted individual, however, did not tamely surrender him. One relation, indeed, was found base and brutal enough, after having in vain endeavoured to reclaim him, to demand against him such justice as the Inquisition administers to its victims. He was imprisoned, but rescued by his friends: *that* one vile relation, however, retook him; and he was again cast into prison, where, papal veracity and charity vouch for the fact, he died miserably *. The reader need not be directed how to interpret the dark deeds of which the perpetrators reserve to themselves the reporting.

Not long after, our inquisitor was commissioned by Julius III. to institute a *secret* process at the same Bergamo, against Vettor Soranzo †, a person of noble rank, and bishop

* *Fini in carcere miseramente la vita.* Catena, p. 10.

† Of this individual P. P. Vergerio, in an Oration and Defence addressed to the Doge of Venice in justification of his own conduct, writes, 'Nothing can be more shameful than what this pope has done; who, while there are many useless and godless bishops and archbishops in your state, has honoured and rewarded them; and the bishop of Bergamo alone, who is your countryman of the house of Soranzo, he has thrown into prison, for no other reason than that he stood up for resistance, and testified a love and concern for evangelical doctrine, and a

of that city. Heresy, it seems, had made an irruption into the place. With books, the standing terror of papal heresy, this traitorous ecclesiastic had filled two chests, which he concealed in a neighbouring villa. The undertaking of Michele was attended with some hazard : but the trial was conducted secretly and cautiously, and the sentence recorded and safely deposited. After some dangers, his life having been attempted, the intrepid monk, to whom such things had become familiar, reached Rome, and was rewarded with the praises to which such services entitled him. The bishop was in consequence cited to Rome, imprisoned in the castle of St. Angelo, and being found guilty of heresy, although released, he was deprived of his bishopric. He went to Venice, where, says Catena, he died *unhappily**: Gabutius ventures the doubt, whether by grief or by *poison*. After this Bergamo persevered in papal purity.

' hatred to superstition. What is it to exercise oppression and tyranny ' over you, if this is not? Is it possible that this should not awaken ' you ?' I owe the reference, here given to De Porta's *Hist. Ecc. Rhæt.*, tom. ii. p. 253, to M'Crie's valuable *Hist. of the Suppression, &c. in Italy*, p. 229. This passage, if there were none besides, would sufficiently instruct us *how* we are to receive papal statements.

* Infellicemente.

In June 1551, the Commissariat of the Holy Office having become vacant, Michele was spontaneously and unanimously chosen to fill the station. Cardinal Carafa treated him with the utmost familiarity. It is unnecessary to add, that he was most assiduous in the discharge of his new duties. Among other exploits, we are indebted to the Spanish biographer for an account of the recovery of a relapsed heretic, condemned to the flames, the learned and celebrated Sixtus Senensis. 'The zeal of the commissary,' Fuenmayor adds, 'was marvellous both in reducing those who erred in the faith and in chastising the incorrigible*.'

In 1555 Cardinal Carafa was elected to the tiara under the name of Paul IV.†; and, at a season which claimed all the energy and vigilance of the pillars of popery, the unprecedented powers were committed to Michele, of settling questions of faith, and absolving or condemning by his own authority. The new pontiff designed to reward his faithful

* Fol. 10.

† This individual, when cardinal, was one of the nine who, under the sanction of the living pope, in 1537, drew up the celebrated *Consilium de emendanda ecclesia*, which himself, when raised to the papal throne, put in his own Index of condemned books.—See *Literary Policy of the Church of Rome*, &c., pp. 48, 49.

servant with the bishopric of Nepi and Sutri ; and upon his declining that preferment, conferred the purple upon him with the title of Alessandrino, with reference to the city nearest to his birth-place. This, Michele said, was taking him out of purgatory to put him into hell. But higher honours, and in one respect the highest, awaited the commissary. He was appointed and named *Supreme Inquisitor*—a title and prerogative, which he was both the first and the last to bear, the popes having ever after reserved that distinction to themselves*. The alacrity of the cardinal was naturally increased by the fresh stimulus of such an extraordinary trust and honour.

As an illustration of the extent and proceedings of the most unrighteous of all tribunals, it deserves to be added, from other sources than the biographers, with whom we are immediately concerned, that a kindred spirit to that of Michele was found in Felice Peretti, eventually Pope Sixtus V., who was made Inquisitor-General at Venice by Paul IV., at the beginning of his pontificate, and, at the recommendation of Michele, under

* At present the pope is *prefect*,—a cardinal *secretary*,—then the other cardinals of the congregation, consultants,—first *compagno*, fiscal, advocate of the guilty, with others,—and last the *qualificators*.

whom he was to act. He made himself acceptable to his superior by his indefatigable and ferocious zeal; and there are two letters, with a memorial of seventeen articles, from Alessandrino, for his direction, in the biographer of Sixtus V., Gregorio Leti, who, from his general conformity with the representations of a manuscript life of that pontiff in the author's possession, appears to have executed his task, particularly as documents are concerned, with quite as much, if not more, fidelity, than the more modern panegyrical and ostentatious biographer, Tempesti. This sub-inquisitor proceeded with such ill-considered and intemperate zeal, that, after a long altercation with the authorities of the republic, he was advised, and obliged, to flee*.

In 1559 a pope of the family of the Medici was elected under the name of Pius IV. Alessandrino was promoted under this pontificate, in 1561, to the bishopric of Mondovi in Piemonte, a neglected place, and, as it is said, of depraved morals, being in the vicinity of heretics. This of course is the language of papal heretics. About to visit his new charge, he proceeded to it by way of Genoa, and was

* Parte i. lib. iii. ed. Amstel. 1721, or Farneworth's *partial* translation, book ii. The letters are dated 1557 and 1558.

mortified, that the secular power was tardy in assisting him by human holocausts to castigate the heretics. He returned by Milan to Rome. Here he resumed his inquisitorial solitudes; and his opinion was much consulted and deferred to, during the sitting of the last assembly of the Tridentine Council.

It happened in 1563 that the pope meditated and proposed advancing two youths of noble extraction to the cardinalate. Alessandrino remonstrated with great liberty of speech, by which he drew upon himself a high degree of papal resentment; and when, after the election, which was carried into effect, the parties gratified returned him thanks as concurring in it, he honestly declined the offering, and declared the truth. Towards the close of this pontificate, the emperor Maximilian and other princes of Germany urged, for avoiding greater evils, the marriage of priests. The vacillating pontiff was dissuaded from the concession by his stern inquisitor. He likewise withstood the head of the church in his wish to substitute, as his legate at Avignon, in the place of Alessandro Farnese, Charles de Bourbon, since, from his heretical connexions, he would be likely to be indulgent to heresy. The offence

of the pope was greatly inflamed by this series of contradiction, and he not only dismissed the inquisitor from his apartments in the palace, but abridged his inquisitorial authority. At this time, 1564, being sixty years of age, he was so much afflicted by a complaint of some standing, strangury, that he turned all his thoughts to his own dissolution, and an epitaph which he had prepared for himself. He however recovered, and was on the point of returning to his episcopate, when the seizure of his baggage by corsairs, on its way to Genoa, and a fresh attack of his disease, together with the entreaties of his brother inquisitors to that purpose, prevailed upon him to continue for the present in Rome—an occurrence, which throws his biographers into devout astonishment at the mysteries of Providence—for at this very juncture, December the 9th, 1565, Pius the Fourth died.

CHAPTER II.

Election of Cardinal Alessandrino to the Papal throne under the name of Pius V.—Ceremonies of Election—Coronation—First Acts of the new Pontiff—Council of Trent—Inquisition—Index of Prohibited Books—Catechism—Sovereigns during the Pontificate of Pius V.—Corrupt morals of the Roman Clergy—Germany and the Emperor—The Turks.

THE proceedings and intrigues of a Conclave for the election of a new pontiff of Rome are amongst the most uninviting of all historic narratives, except to the individuals immediately connected with papal interests and politics. It is sufficient, on the present occasion, to state, that the heads of the Sacred College were, cardinals Carlo Borromeo and Marco Sitico Altaemps, nephews of the deceased pope. Unable to adjust their respective interests, among many *papable subjects**, Altaemps inclined to Alessandrino; and, notwithstanding some objections against him, particularly as being of an austere nature, and continually conversant in the Tribunal of the Inquisition, by a miraculous unanimity at which themselves wondered, and therefore ascribed to the Holy Spirit,

* *Soggetti Papabili*. Gabutius has substituted a favourable paraphrase for this short and expressive designation.

the whole body felt themselves irresistibly impelled to *adore* Michele Ghislieri as their future head. He was elected January 7, 1566, after some exhibition of decorous reluctance. Preceding visions, which it is not necessary to detail, indicated the event. Fuenmayor, having observed, that it was a general complaint that Spain made and unmade popes, proceeds to represent Don Luis de Requesenes, ambassador of the king of Spain, as having principally directed the choice of the Conclave to the individual eventually elected, upon the ground of his eminent qualifications for the office in the existing necessities of the church. The tempests of heresy and schism, by which the bark of St. Peter was now buffeted, demanded a pilot of experienced courage and vigour. It was easily seen what individual he meant to describe.

To gratify the two principal cardinals, and at the request of cardinal Colonna, Alessandrino assumed the name of PIUS THE FIFTH.

On the occasion of this election we have a story, for which we are indebted to Fuenmayor, of some interest to Englishmen, as discovering what kind of place this country held in the mind of a Spaniard, whose sove-

reign had known something of the island, and would have known more. He ends his first book by observing, that, at the time of the event, ‘in the capital of England were seen terrific fires in the air, two comets with large bloody tails following the sun at mid-day. A hand horribly great, with a drawn sword, threatened in the clouds. And well deserved England to be advertised of the election of Pius V., as a most formidable calamity for a kingdom, which he persecuted with arms and censures: for to the wicked no prodigy is more dreadful than the empire of the just.’ The last of the three biographers, adopting this, has added other similar relations, which are not worth repeating.

He presents us, however, with something of more value, in the account which he here introduces of the ceremony at the election of a pope. His account is, indeed, supported by no authority: I propose therefore to supply that defect, as the subject is not without instruction, and papal writers learn to be somewhat reserved in disclosures of their church’s arcana.

The mode of creating a pontiff of Rome is threefold—by *scrutiny*, when two-thirds of the

suffrages of the Conclave appear in favour of an individual—by *accessus*, when, in defect of such majority, the electors are allowed *orally* to change their vote and *accede* to a different object of choice—and by *adoration*, the way in which Alessandrino obtained his election, as well as some others, particularly a not very distant or dissimilar successor, Sixtus V. Some of the more sober of the Roman communion object to this method, as being more frequently the result of juvenile ardour, hurrying down in its sudden and impetuous tide the sedate and yielding, than a literal impulse of the Divine Spirit. All, except Romanists, believe it anything but the latter. In the *earlier* editions of the *Pontificale*, a ritual of the highest authority in the Roman church, the ceremony of election of the pontiff and its consequences had a place, which is sought in vain in the *later* ones. It has long been left to be found in the *Libri Sacrarum Ceremoniarum*, first printed at Venice in 1516, where the pontiff elected finds himself in new company, and at the head of emperors and kings, effectually severed from his former associates of his own order, archbishops, bishops, and presbyters. The *Ceremoniale* for this exalted election has since been pub-

lished separately, and free from all contact with simple humanity. The ceremonies in each of these authorities is substantially the same. When the pope, then, after his election and adoration, comes to the last door of the Vatican palace, he proceeds, after some ceremonies, to St. Peter's; there, to the chapel of St. Gregory; and, in due time, to the high altar, where various genuflexions are performed. At length, incense having been offered to him, he ascends the highest chair (*cathedram eminentem*) there prepared for him, and sitting upon it, receives the reverence and foot-salutation of the cardinals and others. Praises are offered to him with uncovered heads, and plenary indulgences are published. When the *coronation* is performed, which, in the case of the pontiff, with whom we are concerned, was ten days after his election, to make it fall on his birth-day, January 17, preparations are made for the procession to the church of St. John de Lateran. In his nearly southward progress through almost the whole length of the city in that direction, (among other places on which we shall have some observations to make,) the spiritual *monarch* comes to *Mount Jordan*, where he is met by a company of

Jews, who, on their knees, offer him a copy of their law, and to whom he gives a suitable answer. When arrived at the portico of the Lateran church, he is led by the prior and canons to the *marble chair*, situated before the principal door on the left, called *Sedes stercoraria*, where he sits, *so as to seem rather to lie*, until he is raised from it by the cardinals, who repeat a verse, *supposed* to give the reason of the epithet applied to the chair. He then ascends to the altar of the church, by a raised platform, or kind of bridge, and sitting on a high seat, admits the canons to kiss his feet. Removing thence to the Lateran palace, he receives the lauds of the Prior; and, these being finished, he proceeds to the chapel of St. Sylvester, before the door of which are *two perforated chairs* of porphyry. The pontiff sits first on the one, when the prior of the Lateran church, *on his knees*, delivers to him a ferule, and the keys of the church, as a sign of the power and authority of the keys conferred upon him; and then on the other, when he returns the ferule and keys. *In istis duobus sedibus pontifex sedet ut in prima stercoraria.* He then enters the *sancta sanctorum*, and returning to the chapel of St. Sylvester, seats himself on a chair prepared

for him. After some trifling ceremonies the cardinals make a profound bow, and the other prelates kneel before the pontiff, and receive some money, and he goes to a meal in the Lateran palace with considerable pomp. The ceremonial is not indeed so communicative as it might be, and certainly does not once use the *word* adoration, although it expresses the *thing* in a manner hardly to be misunderstood. But its recognition of some other observances will not easily be forgiven by those, who can afford to cast discredit upon a disgraceful occurrence in the papal succession, at the expense of a sweeping vituperation of more than a hundred able and respectable writers of their own communion. But papal numismatics help us out even in the deficiency which has been stated, and furnish us with three genuine medals, beginning with Martin V., with a reverse explained by the legend QUEM . CREANT . ADORANT *. Lawrence Banck, a Swede, in his

* See Bonanni and Venuti, in their respective works. The preceding description is derived from the Pontificale of Venice, 1543. Bonanni on the medal, as struck by Martin V., number iii., has a very extended, and, upon the whole, satisfactory description of the ceremony of papal election ; and the manner in which he defends the triple crown against livid criticism, is worthy of attention. It is an honour, not to the pontiff, but to Christ in his vicar. He bears not the crown from worldly

Roma Triumphans, 1645, gives an account of the inauguration and coronation of Innocent X., *at which he was present*; and the adorations are given by him without reserve, the third, (page 67,) when placed on the high altar at St. Peter's. At the close, a plenary indulgence was proclaimed, and the Cardinal de Medici exclaimed—*This day is salvation come to the world. This day is granted to all of you, the faithful, a plenary indulgence, by our most holy Lord the Pope, Innocent the Tenth, in the name of God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost*;—*Amen*. The same was published by Cardinal Barberini in Italian. The biographers of the popes make no ceremony of using the word *adoration*; and the Rev. J. C. Eustace, while he repeats and justifies the term, reprobates the pope's making the altar

pride, but with a mystic signification, to represent *him*, whose place he occupies on earth. *Christus patiens coronam non auream, sed spinæ istæ in flores eruperunt. Christusque qui ignominioso serto in passione sua fuerat redimitus, postea redivivus visus est a dilecto suo Discipulo in capite suo habens diademata multa, Regnorum scilicet trium (explicat Sansaius) quo jure sub ejus adorando nomine incurvari scribit Apostolus, Omne genu, Cælestium, Terrestrium, et Infernorum. Unde Ecclesia lætabunda concinit—*

*Ut trina Rerum machina
Cælestium, Terrestrium,
Et Infernorum condita,
Flectant genu jam subdita.*

This blasphemy is in fair keeping with the inscription, upon which it is partially a comment.

of God his footstool. The whole ceremony, in fact, although some modern Romanists, under the eye and terror of Protestants, soften the adoration into *homage*, is an act of gross and loathsome idolatry towards a living, visible mortal, and often a notorious sinner*.

Pius doubtless complied with, and took his part in, the substance, or greater part, of this ceremonial. We are informed, that he shed tears at the altar in the view of the burthen which he had undertaken, and that he was favoured with two separate visions, with which, as no evidence of the fact is offered,

* Of the election of the present pope, Gregory XVI., we read in a papal periodical, as communicated by a correspondent—‘ Indeed it is an interesting and edifying spectacle to the eye of faith, to behold the instantaneous and decided change produced in public estimation by the vote of a Conclave, which all firmly believe to be guided by the Holy Spirit : and how he, who went into the Conclave as Capellari, with only the ordinary respect of cardinal, comes out with all the pomp, and majesty, and veneration of Gregory XVI., and is universally hailed and worshipped (I am not writing for Protestants) as Vicar of Jesus Christ on the earth.’ I make this quotation, not for any eminent authority in the Roman Catholic Magazine, (for 1831, page 309,) but for the effrontery with which it repeats, with its own italics, the blasphemous idolatry of its own church. The whole of the preceding account of a papal election is, for substance, contained in a paper communicated by the author to the Protestant Journal for 1831, pp. 97—102—a periodical, which ably and seasonably supplies a desideratum, occasioned not more by papal aggression than by protestant apathy and unfaithfulness. Other references of the same kind will occur in this work, and be observed by the attentive reader.

the reader need not be troubled. A formal congratulation from Philip II. of Spain, is given by the Italian biographer; but we are informed, that to the majority, and particularly to the city, which had felt the smart, and testified its resentment, of the inquisitorial rigours of Paul IV., the election of another professed and practised inquisitor to the pontificate was no matter of joy, but, on the contrary, of grief and terror. These the new pontiff endeavoured to dissipate; and accordingly began his reign with some acts of liberality and clemency.

His coronation, as we have observed, took place on his birth day, January 17th, when he distributed money; contriving at the same time that the poor and infirm should have their portion. He performed many other acts of munificence: but was reserved in his favours to his own relations. In his efforts to restore discipline and morality he began at home, not only in the city, but his own establishment. The piety which alone he understood and cultivated, and in which the bitterest enemies of our Lord Jesus Christ preceded him, together with the social and decorous virtues of mutual harmony and charity, he promoted with considerable zeal. He visited

the five patriarchal churches of the city, and addressed religious exhortations to their respective colleges. One of his earliest acts was to expel prostitutes from the city, where they had greatly multiplied. The magistrates remonstrated; but he was firm, except that, in order to avoid greater crimes, he permitted some to remain, whom he confined to an ignoble quarter of the city; but if they transgressed its bounds, they were to be whipped and banished. Two or three churches were appropriated to their peculiar use, for worship and instruction. The measure produced immediate and beneficial effects. Other regulations of inns, and of excess in apparel, with various reformations of vices and abuses, gave quite a new face to the city. And indeed it appears that there was room enough for amendment; for, whether from the negligence of the preceding chief pastor of the church, or the strong incorrigibility of the evil, the present spiritual sovereign found himself under the almost inevitable necessity, as one of his first acts, to issue a bull, prohibiting, under severe penalties, irreverence in the churches, quarrels, immoderate laughter, turning the back upon the most holy sacrament, licentious conversation and behaviour,

with other specified disorders. The instrument proceeds to condemn simony, blasphemy, concubinage, and an execrable sin, of which, if a cleric should be guilty, he is, firstly, to be degraded, and then delivered over to the secular arm*.

It may be affirmed, that the three main objects of Pius's wishes and exertions were—to obtain the universal reception of the canons and decrees of the Council of Trent, so recently terminated, and in the formation of which himself had borne no inconsiderable part†—to reduce imputed heresy and schism by all means, fair or foul, to submission, if not obedience—and, to reduce the power of the Turk.

The Council of Trent had risen just two

* The date of this constitution is April 1st, 1566. I have a copy of the original *Italian*, (for in that language it was likewise published,) which appears to agree exactly with the Latin in the Bullarium. This authentic document will be of considerable use to us as we proceed. The constitutions of Pius number one hundred and seventy-two. The first official document of the popes is generally the *Regulæ Ordinationis*, &c. of the chancery, which each pope determines for himself. I have the small volume of Pius's, printed at Rome by Ant. Blado, 1566; but it contains nothing remarkable.

† In the council Card. Alessandrino appeared, and voted twice: 1. Against communion in both kinds; 2. Against *absolute* confirmation of the decrees of the council by the pope: he and another would have had it *with reserve* of the extravagant power, as they esteemed it, awarded to the bishops.—See Courayer's translation of Sarpi's *Hist. of the Council*, tom. ii. pp. 128, 754, 755. Ed. 1738.

years before the accession of Pius to the pontifical throne. Its actual session occupied five years within about one-third of a year ; but, by prorogations, they were extended over eighteen years, from December 13th, 1545, to December 4th, 1563. There were three assemblies, the first under Paul III., comprehending ten sessions, the first to the tenth inclusive, terminating September 14th, 1547 ; the second assembly, under Julius III., contained six sessions, the eleventh to the sixteenth inclusive, beginning May 1st, 1551, and ending April 28th, 1552 ; the last assembly was completed in nine sessions, under Pius IV., from the seventeenth to the twenty-fifth, commencing January 18th, and terminating December 4th, 1563. This council was a measure into which the papacy, but particularly the pontiff and court of Rome, were forced with great reluctance, and yet with the hypocritical ostentation of good will. Amidst violent dangers, apprehensions, and counteracting intrigue, they had travelled to the close with quite as much advantage to themselves as could in any reason be expected. Of alteration of doctrine, whether real or apparent, there could be no great dread ; for, amidst the conflicting creeds of

the most eminent doctors of the church of Rome, it would have been no difficult matter to support any conclusion which it might suit the council to adopt. But there were points of honour, as well as of interest, to be attended to in its definitions. Reformation of manners, although, in consequence of the outrageous necessity and violent demands for it, it was expedient to make a prominent portion of conciliar enactment, was so trifling and evasible, that it would very slightly incommode the most lax among the subjects of Rome. The appearance, however, was sufficiently imposing. The church of Rome had now done its duty. It does not appear that the pontiff, under whose auspices the council closed, exerted the two remaining years of his life with much energy to enforce its provisions. But this was not the case with his successor. He adopted, perhaps, the feeling of his more immediate subjects, and particularly the sacred college, that when so much had been done and sacrificed on the part of Rome, for the extirpation of heresy and the establishment and elucidation of Catholic truth, as well as the reformation of abuses, which could not be denied, it was provoking in the highest degree that any hesitation

D

Pius IV.

should exist or be discovered, either by those in whose favour the council decided to receive it, or by those whom it condemned to submit to it; and the authority entrusted to see to its execution naturally felt itself bound, as far as its power would enable it, to coerce the refractory and rebellious. Pius, therefore, accounting the enforcement of the Tridentine Council as his first and most urgent duty, began with his own home and circle; nor did he, in his reforming efforts, spare the higher orders of the church.

It is not, however, to be imagined that, in his elevation, Pius forgot the dearest and most cherished object of his affections—the Inquisition. His first biographer writes of him at this period, that having now all things at his command, ‘he did not give up himself to pleasures, as some of his predecessors had done, but, making no alteration in his accustomed life and manners, he determined not to overlook the Holy Inquisition, intending rather to postpone everything to it, judging everything else to be of minor estimation and importance*.’ Of this it may appear something like satisfactory evidence, that the very first of his recorded constitutions is upon

* Page 35.

this subject, and after the allegation that the affairs of faith should take precedence of all others, enjoins upon all the officers of the city, legates, governors of provinces, and other officials, to a considerable number, that, under pain of excommunication, they should obey the cardinal inquisitors and all their commands relative to the holy office. Another constitution, of much length, at the close of the year, December 21st, testifies the same vigilant anxiety on the subject. After recognizing his own long familiarity with the duties and operations of the holy office, the pontiff complains of the various evasions of its sentences through favour, and endeavours to provide the remedy by investing the cardinal inquisitors with the power of revising the sentences, and confirming the constitution of Paul IV. against heretics. There follows immediately a short constitution, *motu proprio*, as the former is, appointing four inquisitors by name, and making two competent to act.

All the three biographers in this part of their work introduce a quantity of miscellaneous matter out of all chronological or other order: the last in particular, without any notice of time, representing the formation of

the proposed catechism, and the reformation of the missal and breviary, as if they had taken place at least within the same year. In the present biography these and many other particulars will be related not only with a distinct notation of time, but with an exactitude and detail which are highly interesting, perhaps, to all readers, but which writers, in the communion of the papacy, as here, frequently take pains to avoid.

There were four important objects, for the accomplishment of which the Council of Trent had provided. Three of them have been just stated. It was in the last two sessions that decrees passed to this purpose; and they were put in execution by the present pontiff. The first object was decreed in the eighteenth and twenty-fifth sessions: they enjoined the compilation of a new index of prohibited books. This had been accomplished by Pius IV., in the year 1564. It is not necessary in the present work to enter into any detail respecting this link in the chain of intolerant literature. I may be allowed to refer for that purpose to a work of my own on the subject, in which it is no more than plain fact to say, that there is contained in it more information upon a topic,

certainly of some interest and importance, than is to be found in any other work extant. But I cannot dismiss the subject without the reflexion, that had no other document issued from Rome than this solemn, deliberate, and interminably repeated declaration, or manifesto, of her supreme head, assisted by regular congregations of her principal spiritual functionaries, condemning by wholesale and retail almost every important article of evangelical truth which came under their cognizance, and sanctioning, by their silence, in all cases where ignorance was scarcely conceivable, doctrines the most subversive of Christian theology and Christian morality,—this production alone, in the mind of any fair and impartial seeker after truth, would be sufficient to seal the condemnation of the church of Rome, as an apostate and impostor; and, if the individual were so unfortunate as to be enclosed in her communion, instantly, and for good, to renounce it*.

* To the proofs contained in the preface to the second edition of this work of the respect which no consistent Romanist can refuse to the authorized and published judgment of the head of his church, notwithstanding the affected ignorance, or insincere and misgiving disavowal, of such respect, I add, from the honest and acute Dr. O'Connor, in his *Historical Address, &c.*, Part I., 1810, p. 128, the following remarkable instance of submission to papal literary censures in Ireland:—'Can we wonder at it,' (the disappearance of fugitive pamphlets at a parti-

The Tridentine Catechism, however, *Catechismus ex Decreto Concilii Tridentini, ad Parochos, Pii Quinti Pont. Max. Jussu editus*, Romæ, 1566, cum privilegio Pii V. Pont. Max., is a legitimate and essential subject of our biography. When completed, it was approved, not only by its pontifical editor, but by a pontifical successor, Gregory XIII., by Carlo Borromeo, saint and cardinal, by about twenty synods after the general one of Trent, and by eminent doctors without number. It is likewise recognized by Paul V. at the beginning of his Ritual. Lagomarsini, in his edition of the Orations and Epistles of Poggiano, Rome, 1762, and particularly in the notes added to the life of that author by Gratianus, at the beginning of the second volume, has satisfactorily proved, that it had four authors, and that the fourth, the one most difficult to be determined, was Muzio Calini, archbishop of Zara. The exact and practised latinity of Poggiano himself gave the work its ultimate form and polish. The work was in the self-same year, 1566, translated, as directed, into

cular period,) 'when we find the learned Lynch expressing scruples, 'whether he can read *Sir Richard Belling's* excellent Defence of the 'Supreme Catholic Council against the censures of the Roman court, 'because that book was condemned at Rome!!'

the vernacular tongue, Italian, and soon after into other European languages. Into English it was first translated by John Bromley, in the reign of James II., 1687; subsequently in Ireland, Dublin, 1816, *by permission*, and, lastly, in the same unfortunate country, by Jeremiah Donovan, the Reverend, and Professor of Rhetoric and Belles-lettres, in the Royal College of Maynooth,—as faithless and dishonest a translator as the church of Rome has anywhere produced *, and that is saying something, but nothing more than the truth. It is enough to say of the contents of this document, which is by no means a catechism in the ordinary acceptation of the name, being an instruction for instructors, that it embodies, although in a softened and cautious form, all the essentials of the corrupt Christianity of Rome, particularly the corporality of transubstantiation. It binds all the subjects of Rome with a chain of iron, as Doctors Doyle and Murray, at their mock-examination in 1825, before the Commission, were obliged to acknowledge. But, independently of what were oaths then and perjuries in

* See Cramp's Text Book of Popery, &c., p. 368, et seq., an admirably grounded work, and almost a sufficient substitute for a history of the council of Trent.

1831, the fact is undeniable and eminently important*.

In his speculations and efforts Pius did not confine himself to the circle nearest to the centre, his own person, but carried them forward to a circumference co-extensive with the limits of the assumed universal church. This is the language both of his panegyrists and of truth. In introducing, however, the foreign operations of the indefatigable pontiff, it will afford some assistance to the reader, and save him the trouble of historic reference, to enumerate the principal sovereigns and rulers, whose reigns were commensurate with the six years and a quarter's pontificate of Pius. In England it was

* It is very common for Romanists, on any representation given of their religion by Protestants, to exclaim, *misrepresentation!* How are Protestants to avoid misrepresentation? O! hear us. No: hear your church. Your church has spoken, and that audibly; and if she is not to be heard, what is she? and where are you? She has spoken, and that audibly,—by an authentic and precise creed; by a catechism nearly as authentic and precise; by bulls of the church's head, of so much authority as to be deemed by a great portion of that church inerrable; by councils which, if not without that head, with him, wield the undisputed sceptre of infallibility; by breviaries, missals, and other liturgical formularies, in the use of which mere absence of belief is most solemn and impious mockery. What appeal can be fairer than this? But after all the obstreperous and reiterated outcry on this score, there is nothing to which Romanists have less objection than misrepresentation; but it must be, *their own misrepresentation of themselves*. In fact, without this their cause could not stand, or be supported, for an instant; and they well know it.

Elizabeth ; in France, Charles IX. ; in Germany, Maximilian II. ; in Spain, Philip II. ; in Portugal, Sebastian ; in Poland, Augustus ; in Turkey, Selim II. ; in Scotland, Mary, succeeded by her son James VI. in 1567 ; in the Netherlands, Margaret, duchess of Parma, succeeded in her government by the duke of Alva.

Not precisely the first, but among the first attempts of a foreign character made by the pope, were those for the reformation of morals, particularly in the ecclesiastic order. The epistles of the pontiff, published by Goubau, furnish us with our information on this head ; and, as it is unexceptionable, so is it likewise important. And this is a subject which opens one of the most inveterate and ulcerous wounds of the papal church—the enforced celibacy of her priesthood. In the fourth epistle of the first book in the collection, to the archbishop of Saltsburg, dated June 17, 1566, Pius writes, ‘ that he had ‘ been informed by the best authority on the ‘ spot, that the greater part of the beneficed ‘ and dignified clergy in Germany, who ought ‘ to set the best example, without fear of God ‘ or man kept concubines openly, and introduced them into churches and public places,

‘like lawful wives, giving them the titles of their own dignities and offices; that from the contempt thus brought upon the clergy by themselves, they had lost all authority; and hence the increase of heresy, which,’ adds the writer, ‘can never be repressed till the abominable vice of concubinage is extirpated.’ In a letter in the next year, numbered the ninth, to the archbishop of Cambray, the pontiff asserts ‘the corrupt and depraved morals of the clergy to be the cause of heresies.’ The twelfth epistle attests the corrupt lives of the German prelates, ‘who, forgetful of their duty and their own salvation, converted the revenues of the churches to the indulgence of their pleasures, luxury, and secular vanities.’ Onward, and in the year 1568, the same authority divulges the ‘ignorance and corrupt morals of the Bohemian clergy.’—Book ii. letter xiv. And, in the twentieth epistle of the same book, it charges ‘the clergy, as depraved by the daily practice of vice.’ We shall in due time hear of greater abominations than these, and nearer the home of the writer, and from the chair on which he sits. But does it not occur to the reader, that these admitted and habitual vices in the priesthood of the holy

Roman Catholic Church, may have been productive of something besides heresy, or that heresy must have some different meaning in the interpretation of truth from what it possesses in the popular papal acceptation? May not reflecting and serious men, even in the synagogue of Satan, on beholding examples so similar to those of his ministers, have been led to recognize the features of the one in the other, and after some of the inward struggles between prejudice and conscience, have at last come to the conclusion, that so corrupt a church as that of Rome is not, at least, the only true church, and that it was their duty to forsake her doctrine, that they might escape her plagues?

The first more public and urgent call upon the vigilance of the new pontiff was from Germany. The original account is in Catena, from whom the two other biographers have transcribed, the last nearly verbatim. The emperor, Maximilian II., as we learn from general history, was a man of eminent piety, and a signal instance, how far the influence of the divine spirit can make the mind under its impulse rise superior to its circumstances, and even proceed in a direction contrary to the current of the stream,

however powerful, in which it may be placed. He was likewise, and in consequence, a person of moderation in his religious views and conduct, as the national faith was concerned; and a conscientious and decided enemy to the use of force for extending the dogmas of the church to which he politically, at least, belonged *. These were, all of them, uncomfortable qualifications in the eyes of our pontiff; and the feelings which they brought into exercise had soon an opportunity of discovering themselves. The emperor, (to rejoin our Italian guide,) had assembled a General Diet of the empire at Augsburg, March 26, 1566, for the purpose, not only of consulting upon measures for opposing the further progress of the Turk, but likewise, which was the great exciter of alarm, to consider of some means for reducing, if possible, the Christian religion to a better understanding and condition. This was such a direct invasion of assumed apostolic supremacy, in ecclesiastic matters, that the jealous pontiff felt himself imperiously called upon to resist

* We shall, in a future part of the present work, find occasion to refer to a remarkable letter of Maximilian, written after the Parisian massacre, and with some reference to it. It is one of a *Ternio of Letters*, which may be seen in an edition of Muretus's *Orationes*, &c. Lips. 1750.

every such measure to the utmost of his power. Cardinal Giovanni Francesco Commendone, (a man, as he is justly characterized, of great prudence,) was stopped on his return to Rome from a legation to Poland, and directed without delay to repair to the Diet, in characters of the pope's legate a latere. The intemperate pontiff gave him express command, that should the assembly touch the matter of religion, he should enter a public protest, declaring, that the pope, by his pontifical authority, had proceeded against, not only the princes, but the emperor himself, depriving him of his empire, and of all the states, all the successions, and whatever he could pretend to in Spain. The legate had the prudence and conscience to disobey, and was thanked. His master, however, instructed him to remonstrate with the emperor upon the meditated presumption, detailing several instances of the unhappy consequences of such conduct. His holiness therefore besought the emperor to take advantage of the existing dissensions of the heretics, to attempt their recovery, and particularly to obtain the publication and observance of the universal Council of Trent, at least in the

portion of the empire more directly in subjection to him. The case of the archbishop of Cologne gave him some disturbance. That prelate persisted in declining the profession of faith promulgated by Pius IV. The effect of such an example was feared; and the pope threatened him with deprivation. He endeavoured to procure a papal successor to the see of Magdeburg, and to Strasburg, where age rendered an early vacancy probable*. The injunctions given to the archdeacons and dignitaries of the church are observable. They were to provide, that no heretical books should be introduced into their dioceses; for, as Pius alleged, not to oppose such a procedure was to become tacitly accessory to the ruin of souls and plainly to show favour to heresy; that they should unite in printing a greater quantity of Catholic (papal) books, such publications being the most effectual method by which heretics injured the Catholic Church. They

* See Poggiani Opp. tom. iv. p. 287—315, where may be read a letter, not appearing in Goubau, from Pius V. to the Dean and Chapter of Cologne on this subject, with an immense addition of documentary evidence by the last editor, consisting of letters from the pope, his secretary, the legate, &c. &c., eminently illustrative of papal policy and intrigue, and remarkably attesting the accuracy of Catena. Much is in MS., and before unpublished.

were to call in good writers to their assistance, and sell their productions cheap*. Our pontifical guardian of the church, mindful of his former occupations, enjoined his servant to get information of those in Italy, Flanders, or Spain, who held communication with the heretics of Germany, in order that when discovered, they might be put into the hands of the inquisitors. In addition to the erection of seminaries, according to the direction of the Council of Trent, his holiness, inflamed by the impiety of the Elector Palatine against the Catholics in the dioceses of Spire and Worms, urged the legate to impress upon all the authorities of the empire, temporal and spiritual, the guilt which they would contract, should they tolerate or fail to punish such atrocity—promising, at the same time, his own assistance, if necessary. Catena adds an instance of favour to the duke of Bavaria, a good catholic; and there stops. The Spaniard adds, ‘marvellous was the advantage which Germany derived from this legation†;’ and he is followed by Gabutius. They both, however,

* A poco prezzo.—Catena.

† Maravilloso provecho fue el que desta legacion sacò Alemania. Fol. 53.

omit the failure, which the candour of De Thou has recorded. The emperor declared his opinion, that it was unjust to condemn a cause without being heard, and refused to gratify his holiness: 'thus, the attempt of 'Commendone and the other princes,' who had united with him, 'was fruitless*.' Fuenmayor, after Catena, subjoins to his narration in this place two amusing stories in illustration of the execution of Pius's very countenance against heretics. An Englishman tired of his country came to Rome, and struck with the march of Pius in a procession of the festival of Corpus Christi, broke through the crowd, and on his knees confessed his errors and returned to the truth. The pontiff, on such occasions, contrary to custom, always went on foot. A German duke became captive to the papal aspect in the same way, and determined to convert all his family. The remark of the Spanish biographer which follows, and is all his own, is worth something: 'There was such a severity 'and austerity of visage in him, that at the 'first sight, men of courage, who had seen a 'thousand dangers, trembled, and no one

* Thuani Hist., lib. xxxix. cap. vii.

‘ could look upon it without great emotion *.’

This may well be believed of a countenance, upon which the Inquisition had engraven its own lineaments. But in truth, neither England, nor Germany, nor perhaps any other nation, has ever wanted fools, whose faith was at the mercy of a pageant. In such cases there is no religion, from which, and no religion to which, the individual is converted. The orchestra of the Sixtine chapel has, in modern times, accomplished similar victories.

The biographers of Pius, who seem to be as much captivated by the secular talents and exploits of their hero, as by his spiritual and persecuting ones, dwell with lengthened detail upon the assistance furnished by him to the island of Malta, which had been attacked by the Ottoman forces, and of which the citadel St. Elmo had been destroyed. He contributed himself a considerable sum of money for the purpose of repairing the mischief. Pathetic appeals, backed with the customary bribe of indulgences, were addressed to different nations; and letters to

* Era en severidad de rostro, y austeridad tal, que a la primera vista, hombres valerosos, provados en mil peligros, temblavan, y nadie le mirava sin movimiento grande. Fuen. ubi supra. He has another story of a converted Jew.

the kings of Spain and of France, and to the doge of Venice, are extant, advocating the same cause*. The restoration of the ruins was pursued with so much resolution, that the pope himself, regarding the work as a holy one, allowed it to proceed on Saints' days, and the renewed city took the name of Valetta, from that of the master of the military order of St. John of Jerusalem established in that island. The Turks afterwards wreaked their vengeance upon the island of Scio. In order to fortify Christendom, or the popedom in particular, more effectually against this formidable enemy for the future, Pius commissioned his legate Commendone to engage, if possible, the emperor and princes of Germany in a league against him. The papal purse was liberally opened for this object; and the dukes of Savoy, of Este, of Ferrara, of Florence, of Mantua, contributed their share of assistance. But to his pecuniary supplies the pope was not parsimonious in adding those which cost him less—a jubilee in the superlative degree; processions; indulgences. His personal part in these performances was effected with so much labour, and supposed merit,

* Goubau, lib. i. epp. xxviii—xxx.

that, in token of the latter, evil spirits were ejected from some possessed females upon witnessing such an exalted exhibition of humility and devotion*. The new sultan, for he began his reign not till towards the close of the year 1566, made some successful incursions into Hungary.

* Exploits of this description by the pontiff are commemorated in a medal, representing on the obverse his holiness on his chair of state, and before him a female emitting from her mouth a kind of radiated eructation filled with demons. The legend is, *MILITANS. DE. INFERNO. TRIUMPHAT. ECCLESIA.* On the exergue, *PONTIFICIAE. POTESTATIS. IMPERIUM.* Bonanni, tom. i. pp. 306, 307. There is other grave and particular authority for the fact. Read Poggiano's letter to cardinal Truchses, Epist., &c., tom. iv. p. 118, et seq. *Auxit vero etiam religionem certa nefariorum spirituum ejectio ex aliquot notissimis feminis: audiebantur enim, appropinquante pontifice, clamores horribiles, violenti ac perversissimi motus, incredibilesque distorsiones cernebantur; quo præsente, et stolæ ipsas attingente mulieres, mira afflictatio consequatur, et repentini casus ad terram fiebant, ita, ut diu illæ jacerent, non secus ac mortuæ, omnis motus ac sensus expertes. Ex eo die ad sanitatem rediere, ut in nullam postea ejus generis perturbationem inciderint. Notæ sunt omnibus, ut dixi, mulieres, a nefariis spiritibus ereptæ, noti parentes, propinque; ut nemo jure dubitare possit. What heretic, after this, will have the audacity to doubt? The letter is dated 11 Kal. Oct. 1566.*

CHAPTER III.

France—Publication of the Bull in *Cœna Domini*—Clerical concubinage—Queen of Navarre—Geneva—Avignon—Renewed disturbances in France—Alleged outrages by Protestant army, and reflexion—Succours to France—Victory over Reformed at Jarnac—Pius's Letters in consequence—Italy—Victory over Reformed at Moncontour—History of France pursued to Pacification in 1570—Alarm and opposition of Pius—Effect of the Pontiff's instructions—Insincerity of the Court in the Peace—Insults by the Romanists.

FRANCE was the theatre of the most persevering, most resolute, and eventually most sanguinary operations of the true vicar of him, who was a murderer from the beginning. The brutal aggression of the sovereigns and government of France, under the influence of their corrupt and persecuting faith, forced at length those who would reform it, both in themselves and others, into measures of self-defence. To assert, that in any national commotions of such a kind the excesses are only on one side, would be to assume, that a portion of our race are angels; but it is not too much to say, that, in the present contest, in the gross, and perhaps in every particular instance, the excesses of the oppressed party were simple retaliation. Nor will it hastily be questioned, by the equitable, the humane, or the pious, that the power providentially

conferred on the reformers, conveyed a virtual trust for the benefit, not only of themselves, but of the thousands with them, who were enduring similar outrage; and imposed the duty of defending themselves and their fellow sufferers by every justifiable means at their command. Hence, the religious and consequent civil contests in France may be pronounced to be on the one side utterly iniquitous, and on the other substantially, if not perfectly, defensible. Hardly any barbarity, in this unequal, as well as unnatural warfare, had so just and powerful an effect to provoke the reformed to a renewal of the original hostilities, as the wanton and savage massacre at Vassy by the duke of Guise, in 1561. This, which is called the second war, was terminated by a pacification in 1568*.

In this state of things, and two years before the date last mentioned, Pius V. entered upon his pontificate; and his first interference in Gallican affairs was, to write to the bishops enjoining the observation of the Council of Trent, under pain of severe punishment for non-compliance. He likewise directed the queen mother, during her son's minority, to

* For the religious history of France at this time there is no better authority than that of De Serres, *de Statu Religionis*, &c., which De Thou strictly follows, and even adopts.

dismiss from the councils of government Cardinal Odet de Coligny, bishop of Beauvais, and brother of the admiral, who had been anathematized by his predecessor as a heretic, had haughtily abdicated his order, and, after having, in contempt of apostolic authority, resumed it, had married. Other ecclesiastics, who had done the same, were deprived. He likewise nullified the royal edict, which tolerated the reformers in their services of religion out of the cities. The Roman catechism, translated into French*, was introduced, and papal discipline restored. This was all sanctioned by royal authority. Gabutius, whom we are now following, mentions seven bishops, five of whom he just names, who, being condemned for heresy at Rome, were deposed, and replaced by others†; as had been done with Odet, who, we are told, retired to England, where he died impiously‡. The editor of the last

* I am indebted to Fuenmayor for the fact of the French translation.

† Gabutius remembered, and observed, one of the basest rules of the Index, prefixed to that of Clement VIII., 1596. *Itemque epitheta honorifica, et omnia in laudem hæreticorum dicta deleantur.*—See *Literary Policy of the Church of Rome*, &c., p. 114.

‡ *Mori empíamente.*—Catena, 67. Impiously, that is, without confession, absolution, idolatrous reception of the eucharist, and extreme unction. He was poisoned by his valet employed by Catherine.—See *Discours Merveilleux*, &c., 1575, pp. 71, 2.

edition of the works of Giulio Poggiano has, in his notes on an epistle of Pius to the king of Poland, given a quotation from the ecclesiastical history of the Abbé de Choisy, where the names and titles of six of this illustrious body are given in full; and they deserve to be preserved—Jean de St. Chamand, archbishop of Aix; Montluc, bishop of Valence; Caraccioli, bishop of Troyes; Louis d'Albret, bishop of Lescar; Barbanson, bishop of Pamiers; and Charles Guillart, bishop of Chartres*. Who, but a son of Rome, and a bigoted one of that community, will believe that the heresy of these prelates was any other than a clear perception of the corruption and heresy of the church, of which they were members, and which they accordingly knew, and a conscientious sacrifice of their secular and temporal to their heavenly and eternal interests? So the heresy imputed and persecuted by Rome may almost uniformly be interpreted. The pope continued his spiritual activity in France by requiring of the prelates a register of all ecclesiastic affairs and persons, particularly the latter, that he might know whom to promote; and these registers he carefully kept. One rather ex-

* Tom. iv. pp. 194, 5. They may be seen in Du Pin, *Ecc. Hist. Seventeenth Century*, vol. ii. p. 405, English translation, ed. 1706.

traordinary abuse the pontiff removed, the possession of ecclesiastic benefices by women; one of whom, in that predicament, he compelled to resign.

Pius, who never lost an opportunity of extending his authority, availed himself of the prevalence of violence and crime in France, to direct her metropolitans to promulgate and put in execution there the celebrated, or infamous, bull *In Cæna Domini*. This bull does not stand in the collection of the constitutions of this pontiff, as one of his own. Having received various alterations, as new circumstances arose in the church, it acquired its last form, previously to the reign of Pius, under Paul III., in 1536. I have, however, a copy of the bull, as *published* and *altered* by Pius V., 4to., id. April. 1568, printed at Louvain, 1569, CUM PRIVILEGIO. Subsig. De La Torre, 12mo. This instrument is perhaps the most audacious invasion of the rights of Christian sovereigns ever issued even from the Vatican; and although the annual reading of it may, for prudential reasons, be occasionally suspended, it is unrepealed, and continues in its original force, ready to awake from its slumbers whenever power may arrive*.

* To this fact we shall have occasion to revert. But for the character

The attention of the spiritual chief was directed to a very recurring necessity, that of repressing the concubinage of his priests, to whom his church forbade *that* marriage which an apostle declares is honourable in all. The heretical queen of Navarre gave him more sincere disturbance, and he had thoughts of deposing her; inviting first the Spanish monarch, and then Catherine of France, to seize her dominions. The latter he likewise instigated to invade Geneva, a city of most putrid odour in the nostrils of good Romanists, and particularly of the last of our pontifical biographers, who indulges himself by adding to the simple statement of his original, Catena, a torrent of abusive designations of that Christianized city. The pontiff had resolved upon its destruction after the settlement of the Turkish war: but death sent him on another errand; and spared a city whose crime was its praise. Prohibited books and conventicles were the subject of some other regulations.

Pius employed his activity on another sub-

just given of the bull in general, and of *those* in particular, for there were two, intended to be obtruded upon the nations in communion with the pope, see the elaborate examination, as refers to Naples, of the able and candid historian of that country, Giannone, *Ist. di Napoli*, lib. xxxiii. cap. iv.

ject which alarmed him, the prevalence of heretics and heresy in the territory of that seat, for a time, of papal majesty, Avignon; and assisted vigorously in purifying it by the sword. Some of the prisoners he redeemed, for the purpose of getting them into his own power; and having procured them to be brought to Avignon, (from his ardent zeal for religion, as Gabutius adds to his original,) decreed them to public punishment *—I presume, death. Besides many other reforms, as they are called, pertaining to good government, and the office of the holy Inquisition, he piously appropriated the confiscations inflicted upon the subdued Christians to sacred places; and particularly, as Catena adds and Gabutius omits, made a handsome donation to the college of the company of Jesus.

In the year 1567, disturbances were renewed in France. It is said that an attempt was to be made on Paris by the reformed; and that the king, being at Meaux, was in danger of being surprised, but escaped with his mother, brothers and sister to Paris. The pope wrote some letters on this occasion to

* *Ne fece far publica giusticia.*—Catena. The principles of Pius forbade its being any thing short of death. We shall see an instance soon.

the king, which are in the collection, but are of minor moment. Assistance was sent under the duke of Nevers, but was badly managed ; and a pacification ensued, unfavourable, it is represented, to the catholics, March 13th, 1568. Pius was vehemently grieved at it ; and the fruits were, says our biographer, that the heretics began to rage, like rabid tigers, against God and the king. Throughout a whole chapter, indeed, the eighth of his Second Book, he expatiates *alone*, (for his original gives him nothing of it,) on the destruction of temples, of images, of relics, and, what he relates with most feeling and horror, of the dead bodies of the national saints ; on the insults offered to the adored eucharist, or host ; on the desecration of the sacred vestments and utensils ; on the burning of valuable libraries ; on barbarities towards the episcopal order in particular ; in short, on every atrocity of murder, violation, rapine, and cruelty, which would readily occur to the imagination of a Roman catholic, whose memory was not occasionally and opportunely defective, without the labour of absolute invention, or the fatigue of a long journey.

Now, for all this, the historian, who well knew for whom he was writing, and wished

for nothing less than the profane and inquiring eyes of an heretical reader, has not vouchsafed a single authority. He might possibly have produced some, as good as his own; something like our own Sanders, or Rishton, or Bridgewater, or Verstegan*: but he preferred drawing out of the bottomless well of papistic credulity. He has likewise utterly suppressed any mention of similar, if not equal, or superior, outrages, on the side of his own communion. Did he believe there were none? or, that his readers would believe

* See the latter writer's *Theatrum Crudelitatum Hæreticorum nostri temporis*, Ant. 1592, first edition, embellished with suitable and terrific plates, similar to what may be seen in the *Eccles. Ang. Trophæa*. I notice Verstegan in particular, because his work embraces the alleged cruelties in *France* and *Flanders*, and *may* have been Gabutius's only or principal authority. In such allegations the *truth* makes all the difference. This writer was not probably the originator of his own falsehoods: he, whether knowingly or ignorantly, only received and circulated the forged notes. But how, with the St. Bartholomew under his nose, he could summon the impudence to publish such a work, can only surprise those who are ignorant of the utter indifference to truth and justice, with which a papal atmosphere poisons even an ingenuous mind. Watson, in his *Quodlibets*, p. 257, speaks of Verstegan as one of Parsons's spies and tools. The reader may appropriately be informed of another work, similar in subject, *Le Miroir de la Cruelle et Horrible Tyrannie Espagnole perpétrée au Pay-Bas, &c.*, including the French Massacre, though not mentioned in the title-page, Amsterdam, Cloppenburg, 1620, likewise embellished with plates. Are the advocates of Rome acquainted with the name of one of its bishops, a Dominican, Bartholomew de las Casas; and do they conclude cruelty to be a strange work with good Catholic soldiers, or that they will ever want a Sepulveda to defend them?

so *? But without insisting, that sanguine and unprincipled partisans often magnify insulated and infrequent acts into extensive or general ones, and admitting that there is ground, in some degree, in the charge, is it expected, that the soldiery, in an army of any description, should, when victorious particularly, attend very scrupulously to the principles of humanity or morality †? And

* It would do such friends of Romanism as are real enemies to Protestantism good to look into the history of a contemporary and a party in the crusade against the Albigenses, A.D. 1209, Peter, monk of Cernay, ed. Trecia, 1615. At p. 130, is an account of a heretic lady thrown into a well, and smothered with stones—it follows immediately, innumera-biles etiam hæreticos, peregrini nostri (our crusading pilgrims) cum ingenti gaudio combusserunt. At p. 133, about sixty more heretics were burned, and at p. 274, seven more, by our pilgrims, in both cases, cum ingenti gaudio, with immense joy. Such bonfires are the highest recreation to a true-born papal.

† If the reader wish to have an unexceptionable testimony to the relative moderation of heretical and Catholic soldiers, he may find one in *Il Sacco di Roma*, under Clement VII., by F. Guicciardini, as sound a Catholic, in Rome's sense, as need be. The passage occurs at the end of the second, or last, book. 'I know,' he writes, 'that I shall say a thing which perhaps will be believed with difficulty by many, that the Lutheran and German nation, although it be judged and esteemed more inhuman, and more hostile to Italian blood than is the Spanish, nevertheless, on this occasion, has proved itself to be of a nature more benignant, less rapacious, and more reasonable, than either the Spanish or Italian.' The historian proceeds to say, that at first the heretical soldiers, in the spoliation of their prisoners, conducted themselves with moderation; and not till they found that their enemies took advantage of their forbearance in seizing what they had spared, did they alter their conduct. My edition is Colonia, 1758; see pp. 213 and following.

is it not incredible in itself, and from the known history of the times, that such acts should be committed without previous provocation, and, as we know it to be from history, ten times as credible as that under censure, not only previous, but most unprovoked and most undeserved? If the author could have proved, that the more immoral of those excesses, or indeed any, were sanctioned, or participated in by the heads of the religion, he would have proved something for which they personally would have to answer; but when he knows, that the very religion of his own community allows and commands extreme violence in favour of a cause which sanctifies any means for its advancement, and that the religion which he maligns allows no means but such as are just, his misrepresentations degrade his character to that of a slanderer, and render his allegations, on his own credit, utterly inadmissible. Let him, or such as are like him, turn their eyes for a moment to the bulls of the vicars of Christ; to the canons and decrees of councils held during the dominancy of their church; to the crusades formally instituted by them, and instigated by indulgences of the most authoritative and boundless character; and to the holy office

of the Inquisition, with its laws, trial, auto-da-fé, and final infliction of the tormenting death of burning, witnessed by the spectators, in Portugal at least, with incredible joy, and then say, whether a true son of a church, which thus, ON THE THRONE OF INIQUITY, FRAMETH MISCHIEF BY A LAW*, has a right to open his mouth on the subject of humanity, morality, or religion, before the veriest miscreant that ever cursed the earth with his presence and acts†.

It is the practice of the holy tribunal to gag its victims at the place of execution, if they speak unwelcomely: it is well that history cannot be thus served.

The zeal of the pontiff in this unrighteous cause urged him to considerable exertions, and even sacrifices. By a bull dated August 1, 1568, directed to his nuncios at the court of France, he allowed the clergy to contribute to the necessities of Charles from the ecclesiastic revenues, 150,000 pounds‡; which

* Ps. xciv. 20. וְיַחְבֹּד כְּסֵם וְחַיִּת יָדוֹ עַל עַלֵּי חַק.

† These observations are so strongly illustrated and corroborated by Dr. O'Connor, as respects Ireland, in the second Part of his Historical Address, that I cannot forbear making a long quotation from that candid and intelligent Romanist. Owing to its length, however, it must be reserved for the APPENDIX.

‡ Bullar, Mag. Supplem. Luxemb. 1730.

sum, when it could not conveniently be collected by the clergy, was completed by confiscations of the goods of heretics, whom the scrupulous monarch banished, because he could not conscientiously accept the assistance of heretics*. On the 13th of March, 1569, the brave prince de Condé lost his life at the hard fought battle of Jarnac, which was disastrous to the reformed army.

The pontiff, whose exultation was excited, in the same degree in which his appetite for heretical blood was increased, by this success, has left, in seven consecutive letters extant in the collection so often referred to, a terrific monument of his unholy and ferocious zeal. It is saying no more than what is ordinarily known, to assert that popery in its worst form is nothing more than a modifica-

* Gabutius himself gives this information, p. 71. Gouban has preserved a letter of Pius to the cardinal of Lorraine, which has something of character on this subject. The date is January 17, 1569. After calling the prince of Orange *nefarius ille*, the pontiff complains, that the goods of the heretics were not confiscated according to the royal edict, which would be very useful to retain the wavering in the faith, and to deter the rest from their abominable association and conjunction with the heretics. *Illud etiam quod in edicto regis jamdudum factum esse oportebat, ut scilicet hæreticorum bona publicarentur, quodque valde utile fuisset ad dubios in fide retinendos, cæterosque omnes ab hujusmodi nefaria cum hæreticis societate conjunctioneque deterrendos, non sine dolore miramur factum adhuc non fuisse.* Lib. iii. ep. v.

tion of human corruption *; but *that* corruption never exhibited a face of such deformity and turpitude as in the religious system of modern Rome. As an illustration, therefore, of the genuine spirit of that system, as well as of the man under its legitimate influence, I propose to make copious extracts from the letters just mentioned †.

The first is to the king of France. After having wished his very dear son in Christ health and apostolic benediction, he tells him, that on the news of the defeat of the heretics, and the death of their chief, he instantly gave thanks to God for his great mercy. ‘But,’ he writes, ‘the more graciously God has dealt with you and me, the more earnestly and diligently should you, on occasion of this victory, exert yourself to root out from the foundations, persecute and destroy, even to the very fibres, the remains of so great and inveterate an evil ‡.’ He

* It is surprising, that the present archbishop of Dublin should, in his *Errors of Romanism*, have betrayed so much freshness to the subject, as to consider this a discovery of his own. Both the *British Critic*, and the *Protestant Journal*, have pointed out this, as well as other oversights, in a work which might easily have avoided them.

† Epp. Pii V. a Goubau, lib. iii. Ep. x.—xvii. There is omitted the number xv. Otherwise the letters would be Eight.

‡ Sed quanto benignius tecum nobiscumque egit Deus, tanto enixius ac diligentius hujus occasione victoriæ enitendum est tibi, ut eorum qui

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urges his majesty with paternal solicitude to put his enemies out of power further to molest or endanger him. 'You will do this,' he adds, 'if no respect of persons induces you to spare those enemies of God, who spare neither God nor you: for you can only please God by most severely revenging yourself on those wretches. Let your majesty set before his eyes the example of Saul, who, when he was commanded by Samuel the prophet to slay the infidel Amalekites without mercy, because he did not obey the will and voice of God and spared the king of the Amalekites and his valuables, in a short time after he was anointed king, was by the same prophet severely rebuked, and finally deprived of his kingdom. By which example God would admonish kings, that they should not provoke his indignation by despising his vengeance*.' In

restant hostium reliquias persequaris atque conficias, omnes tanti tamque corroborati mali radices, atque etiam radicum fibras, funditus evellas.

* Hoc autem facies, si nullarum personarum rerumque humanarum respectus te in eam mentem adducere poterit, ut Dei hostibus pareas, qui Deo neque tibi unquam pepererunt: non enim aliter Deum placare poteris quam si Dei injurias sceleratissimorum hominum debita poena severissime ulciscaris. Proponat sibi ante oculos Majestas Tua Saulis regis exemplum; qui cum a Deo per Samuelem prophetam jussus esset Amalecitas, infideles populos, ita percutere, ut eis nullo modo quavis de causa parceret; quia Dei voluntati et voci non obedivit, regemque ipsum

the same strain the pontiff proceeds to the end. Date March 28, 1569.

The next letter is to the queen mother, on the same subject, in which the writer reiterates, that 'the anger of God can only be 'appeased by just vengeance for the insults 'offered to him*.' He recommends, that the enemies of God should be '*massacred †*,' and '*totally exterminated ‡*.' This letter has the same date.

The next letter is to the same, April 13, which dissuades from allowing any of the captive heretics to go unpunished, 'which,' the pope humanely writes, 'that it may not 'be, and that *the miscreants may be visited with 'just punishment*, is your duty to provide, to 'the utmost of your power §.'

Amalecitarum incolumem servavit, ejusque rebus melioribus pepercit, paulo post per eundem a quo rex unctus fuerat prophetam, severe admodum increpitus, et denique regno ipso et vita spoliatus est. Quo quidem exemplo Deus admonere voluit omnes reges, ne, contempta suarum injuriarum ultione, ejus in seipsos iram atque indignationem provocarent. Observe how Pius identifies himself here with the prophet Samuel.

* Nullo modo, nullisque de causis hostibus Dei parcendum est; sed severe cum illis agendum, qui neque Deo neque filiis tuis unquam pepercunt: neque enim aliter Deus placari potest, nisi ipsius injurias justa ultione vindicaveris.

† AD INTERNECIONEM USQUE.

‡ *Deletis omnibus.*

§ Qua de re eo studiosius diligentiusque cum Majestate Tua agendum esse existimavimus, quod dari operam istic ab aliquibus audimus, ut ex

That which follows to the duke of Anjou, the victor in the late battle, enjoins, that he should be equally inexorable to all the heretics*.

The letter to the cardinal de Lorraine is in the same sickening strain of *revenge*, and *inexorability* to the unhappy conquered. Date April 13.

The next is to the king, of the same date as the last, and with unexhausted, or rather reviving barbarity, as the individual written to had the greater power. It begins with that kind of religious congratulation, which is the commonest and easiest of all forms of hypocrisy. It inculcates, that tranquillity can only be preserved by unity in the Catholic faith. It was therefore his majesty's duty, to be severe against the rebels. For if from any inducement he was negligent of revenge, he would provoke the patience of that God, who, the more kindly he had dealt with him, the more earnestly did he require revenge, which no prayers or connexions

eorum hæreticorum qui capti sunt numero quidam liberentur, inultique abeant: quod ne fiat, atque homines sceleratissimi justis afficiantur suppliciis, curare te omni studio atque industria oportet.

* Debes pro tua in Deum pietate, divinique honoris zelo, omnium pro illis rogantium preces repudiare, et æque omnibus inexorabilem te præbere.

should prevent; but that he should prove himself inexorable to all who should intercede for such miscreants*.

The last of these letters, to the duke of Anjou, does not yield to any of the preceding in horror of mercy and lust of vengeance. It tells the conqueror, that it is his part and duty to see, that no fault be committed *through indulgence*, and that he should prove himself inexorable against all supplications for the miscreants; for if, amidst so many unrevenged offences against the omnipotent God, any fault was committed by indulgence, connivance, or neglect, there was danger, lest, as against Saul, for similar omission, &c. &c.† This letter is dated April 26.

Neither note nor comment are needed here.

* Nam si . . . , ea de quibus Deus offenditur insectari atque ulcisci distuleris, certe ad irascendum ejus patientiam provocabis; qui quo tecum egit benignius, eo debes acrius illius injurias vindicare. Qua in re, nullius preces admittere, nihil cujusquam sanguini et propinquitati concedere, sed omnibus qui pro scelestissimis hominibus rogare audent, inexorabilem te præbere oportet.

† Nihilque in ea re indulgentiâ peccetur, sed etiam his, qui tibi pro scelestissimis hominibus supplicare audebunt inexorabilem te præbere. Nam si, in tot tantisque Dei omnipotentis offensis inultis, omittendis, aliquid aut indulgendo, aut connivendo vel negligendo peccaretur, periculum esset ne quemadmodum adversus Saûlem, pro simili Amalecitarum justa animadversione ab eo omissa, sic adversus christianissimum regem fratrem tuum, teque ipsum etiam, eo gravius ira Dei exardesceret, quo benignius atque clementius ad hanc usque diem cum utrisque vestrum divina sua bonitas egisset.

But it was not by such effusions alone, that the holy father testified his feelings on this joyful occasion. A medal was struck, representing him in a kneeling posture with his face towards a visible figure of Jehovah in the clouds, and an army on the earth below. The uncrowned pontiff is in the intended attitude of returning thanksgivings. The legend is *FECIT . POTENTIAM . IN . BRACHIO . SUO . DISPERSIT . SUPERBOS.* Bonanni, from whom we derive our account of this medal, immediately subjoins a long extract from the pontifical *Diaria* of Cornelio Firmano, recording eight separate instances of the triumphant efficacy of the prayers of Pius, and the pomp of his thanksgivings*. Twelve standards of the conquered enemy were sent by the king to the pontiff, and suspended by the latter in St. Peter's.

Pius, however, did not think it prudent to relax his exertions. He therefore sent P. Donato Cesi, bishop of Narni, as his inter-nuncio, to the Italian states, impressing upon them the great danger in which religion was placed; the impiety of the Calvinian heresy, not less voluptuous than the Mahometan †;

* Numism. Pont. Romæ 1699, tom. i. pp. 300—303.

† So Catena himself, not such a thorough bigot as Gabutius.

the diligence of the heretics in obtaining associates in Italy; the imminent hazard to the rulers of that country, lest it should be infected with the poison, and brought to spiritual ruin by the overwhelming flames of the new and abominable religion. By these and other means, the good and vigilant pastor is supposed to have preserved Italy pure from the visitation of evangelic light. Money was not out of sight with the pontiff; and he resolved to raise it, as the most inoffensive way, by what was called a *Benevolence*, but which was not quite voluntary. Twelve of the more opulent monasteries did, however, contribute voluntarily.

With this assistance the martial head of the church sent a considerable Italian army into France under the command of Paolo Sforza, count di Santa Fiora*; and piously furnished the different officers with a form of religious and moral discipline, for the observance of the soldiers, one of the rules of which was, that they should avoid all kind of intercourse, private conversation, or disputation with heretics: to this is added, equal abstinence from forbidden books and writings,

* See a letter of the pope to him in Goubau, lib. iii. ep. ix. It closes with inculcating severe revenge for the insults to the Almighty.

which might be suspected of depraved and detestable doctrine. The pontifical troops met the enemy at Moncontour, near Poitiers, and were successful. A characteristic incident is here recorded. The prince of Uzes was taken prisoner, and redeemed with a large ransom: Pius complained to his general, that he had not executed the command, that *every heretic taken should be instantly slain* *. The king, however, interceded for him, and the pope declined receiving the ransom, to show, as our author adds, that the only object which his hero had in view was the glory of God, and the good of religion and human souls. Doubtless, the pure and unsophisticated truculency of his church was the master passion of the individual who then ruled it. We are informed that signs of this victory were seen in the air: there is more of fact in the account of the seven-and-twenty standards being placed in the Lateran temple, with an inscription recording the victory on a marble tablet †.

* Di che accertato il Pontefice, si dolse del Conte, che non avesse il commandamento di lui osservato di ammazzar subito qualunque heretico gli fosse venuto alle mani. Catena, 85.

† We may place here the exhibition given by the pontiff of the feeling which he entertained towards Coligny. It is pretty intelligibly expressed in three of his terrible letters written upon occasion of the

The biographers here desert us, as guides to the ulterior fortunes of France. Fortunately we are not without others, rather better. The Commentaries of De Serres, who is satisfactorily proved to be the author*,

admiral's dismissal from his office, and of the appointment of the marquis de Villars to his place. They are—to the king, dated October 12, 1569; to Catherine, the 17th; and to the marquis the same day,—and are found in Goubau's Collection, book iii. epp. 41, 43, 44. In the first, Pius thanks God for the king's efforts against the abominable enemies of the Catholic religion; 'but among all the proofs of goodness and devotion given by his majesty, none was greater than the condemnation of that execrable and detestable man, if man he may be called, who gives himself out as admiral of France,' &c. (*execrandum illum ac detestabilem hominem, si modo homo appellandus est, qui se, etc.*) The letter to the mother is nearly an echo of the former. The pontiff calls Coligny, 'that most deceitful of all men, and of execrable memory,' (*hominem unum omnium fallacissimum, execrandæque memorie.*) 'Take care,' he adds, 'that you believe not, dearest daughter in Christ, that anything can be done more grateful and acceptable to God, than when his enemies are openly attacked from zeal for the Catholic religion.' (*Cave autem putes, charissima in Christo filia, quidquam Deo gratius acceptiusque fieri posse, quam cum illius hostes aperte pro catholice religionis studio oppugnantur.*) The marquis, Pius congratulates upon his promotion to the place of 'that son of perdition, condemned by the most just sentence of the parliament of Paris and spoiled of all his honours,' (*perditionis filio, justissima Parisiensis senatus sententia condemnato, honoribusque omnibus spoliato,*) 'a most inveterate enemy of the Catholic religion, a disturber of the common peace, who, a heretic himself, always associated his councils with those of heretics,' infamous for every sort of crime, treasons, and heresies. His holiness finally assures the new admiral, that by his labours and perils for the Catholic religion he would obtain a signal reward in heaven; and he dares to prostitute, by an application to this subject, the awful declaration of our Saviour, that *he who loses his life shall save it.*

* See Freytag, Apparat. Litt. tom. iii. pp. 250—255.

although the work is anonymous, of the State of Religion and the Commonwealth, &c., sanctioned by the adoption of De Thou; and the *Memoires de l'Estat de France sous Charles IX.*, &c.; second edition, à Meidelbourg, 1578, are abundantly sufficient to carry on our view of events in that country of some importance, not only to the actions and character of the pontiff under examination, but to some other points of considerable interest. It is not necessary to make any particular reference to these histories, except where peculiar reasons may call for it. The reformed were always anxious for peace, if anything like toleration and freedom from persecution could be obtained. The foes to peace were, their oppressors, and the religion which made them so. As a body, those of the religion were loyal to their sovereign, and far more conscientiously so than the interested adherents to the established religion. They united in drawing up a profession of allegiance and a request for peace, to be presented to the king. Their enemies stood between, and effectually prevented its reception; and the land was again torn with civil, desultory, and inconclusive warfare. The government, however, began to feel that

peace would not be unwelcome; and an Edict of Pacification, the third, was published in August, (no particular day is inserted*) 1570.

Pius, to whose ears and heart the very sound of peace with heresy was a thunder-clap, began to take alarm at even the distant preparatory murmurs of the event. He accordingly opened a battery of rather unpacific epistles †.

The first is to the king, dated January 29, 1570, in which, after mentioning the strong report, that his majesty was about to make peace with the heretics, and rebels, and common enemies of all catholics, and urging that there could be no communion of light with darkness, and therefore no agreement between catholics and heretics, but a false and insidious one, he earnestly exhorts his majesty to secure his kingdom, by crushing the relics of intestine war‡.

A twin letter of the same date goes to the

* Davila, however, says it was the 11th. Lib. v. ed. Lond. tom. i. p. 294.

† Goubau, lib. iv. epp. 1—8. This writer assigns the epistles to their place in Gabutius, but strangely refers these to the *second* pacification in 1568.

‡ Nullam luci cum tenebris communionem, nullamque catholicis cum hereticis, nisi fictam invidiasque plenam, compositionem esse posse.

queen-mother, repeating the same wholesome and Christian instruction. The pontiff indeed had but one note, a lugubrious one, upon which to ring his sempiternal changes.

The next to the duke of Anjou, still the same date, has no variety.

The following one to the king increases a little in energy as the fatal event, peace, appeared to be approaching; and his holiness takes the authority to admonish his most Christian majesty, that he may endanger his own throne by such a step*. In the close he consoles himself, that should the king neglect his paternal counsels, *he* had done *his* duty. April 23, 1570.

In the succeeding letter to the cardinal de Lorraine, which is dated August 14, the very month in which the pacification was effected, we observe, that the pontiff appears sensible that all was settled, but still harps upon the invariable position, that no peace but a

* Quantum autem quamque horribile sit in Dei viventis manus incidere, qui non solum corruptos hominum mores bellis emendare, sed propter regum populorumque peccata regna contere, eaque ab antiquis dominis ad alios transferre solet, id manifestius est, quam ut hoc exemplis docere necesse sit. Quæ ut cætera deessent omnia, tamen ad faciendam hujus rei fidem, vel ipsa sola temporibus nostris Græcia sufficeret; quæ propter religionis catholicæ contemptum, amisso veteris nobilitatis splendore, in durissimam infidelium servitutem est redacta.

feigned one can exist between catholics and heretics *. He insists, that nothing but plots and conspiracies were to be expected, by which the authors would punish the neglect of those who ought to have attended to the divine rights. The pontiff, flattering himself that the case was not yet quite hopeless, charges the cardinal to throw all possible impediments in the way of the hated peace.

The next letter to the cardinal de Bourbon, of the same date, is to the same effect—the impossibility of communion between Satan and the children of light.

In another to the same individual, but dated September 23, when all was but too certain, the writer unburthens himself of his grief and of his prognostications. He anticipates, that God will give over the king and those who have assented to this pacification to a reprobate mind, that seeing they may not see, and hearing they may not hear, what ought to have been seen and heard. He does not, however, despair; but confides in the purple vestment of his correspondent, and in the performance of that fidelity to

* Nullam catholicis cum hæreticis pacem nisi fictam aut simulatam esse posse; sed sub nomine specioso pacis insidiosissimum proditiōis fraudisque maleficium latere.

religion and the apostolic see, of which it will remind him.

On the same day to the other cardinal of Lorraine, the pontiff writes, that the pacification was a greater blow than any received from the sedition of the heretics since its commencement : greater dangers were to be expected. This member of the Sacred College is likewise significantly reminded of his purple robe, of his oath to the Roman church and its high pontiffs, an oath, by which he bound himself to shed his blood in her cause, if it should be necessary *. The rest is the high sounding commonplace, which characterises every production of the Vatican.

In these and similar exhibitions it must

* —ut ab eâ illius jurisjurandi admonearis, quod sanctæ huic Romanæ ecclesiæ, ejusque Maximis Pontificibus præstitisti ; quo scilicet te ad profundendum pro eâ sanguinem, si opus fuerit, obstrinxisti. The reader should call to mind the Episcopal Oath of Allegiance to the Pope, which takes the individual completely out of the power of his temporal sovereign. All the cardinals of the episcopal order have taken it ; and protestants, that is heretics, in the definition of the papal code, ought particularly to remember the sacred obligation by which all Roman prelates bind themselves to *persecute and oppugn them to the utmost of their power*. They may, some at least, omit this portion of the oath, if they choose ; but in the very form of doing it they make a comparison which neutralizes, or mystifies the omission. If the reader wish to know the precise history of this oath, he may be referred to a pamphlet on the subject by the author, subjoined to the present work.

have occurred to the reader, that the performer, whether plain Michele, the purpled Alessandrino, or the triple-crowned Pius, never forgot, or laid aside, the Inquisition. It was, however, no ungrateful soil upon which he cast his seed. The Italian mind of Catherine, the saturnine and vulpine one of Charles, and the savage superstition which urged them both, in common with the rest of their family and court, presented a field the most promising for such culture as the holy pontiff was so industriously employing. Some time, indeed, two long years, were to elapse, before the vegetating process arrived at its ultimate maturity, in that consummation so devoutly wished, and so well provided for, and which, had life been spared for the enjoyment, would have been hailed and celebrated with more personal gratification than was done by his successor, who simply took an official share in the public rejoicings demanded by the system, on occasion of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Pius would have welcomed the intelligence, not only with the kindred feelings of an inquisitor, but with the paternal feelings of one who looked upon the event as a dear child of his own. And here we may observe one of the remark-

able dealings of Providence with the ungodly, which so modifies the various stages in the very success of their schemes as to have the appearance of being, and to inflict upon their author the mortification of believing them to be, exactly the reverse. In fact, for the accomplishment of the object common to all the parties, it was necessary for the principal agents to adopt a course calculated to deceive all beholders; and it was not less necessary that the secret should be confided to as few bosoms as possible, even to the exclusion of the most interested and confidential. It is spontaneously admitted as a fact by papal, as well as reformed historians, that the last pacification was, on the king's and court's part, utterly insincere; and that, from the day of its solemn signature, nothing was thought of but the entire extinction of the Huguenots by an act or course of treachery. The treachery, if not the only means, was regarded as the most effectual one, to accomplish this object*. The quintessential policy of the queen-mother, who knew that she herself was too well known to be able to deceive, set her ductile son on an attempt, in which it

* Davila, lib. v. tom. i. pp. 295—8. The reader will conjecture why the biographers are in no humour to pursue the history of French affairs.

was presumed he would have a better chance of being successful. About the close of the year 1570, the king married Isabella, youngest daughter of Maximilian, emperor of Germany*. It is affirmed, that the heads of the religion were invited to the ceremony, in order that possession might thus be obtained of their persons, and themselves be sacrificed. But nothing came of this plan. Those who knew with what kind of new friends they had to deal were suspicious. The principal reliance was upon two popular objects. The first was, a war for the recovery of Flanders, to be given to Count Ludovic; and it must be acknowledged this was not a simple feint: something was done; and the admiral and his friends were amused. The other was, the proposal of marriage between the king's sister, Margaret, and the king of Navarre†.

* The papal law made as many impediments to marriage among the opulent as possible, in order that dispensations, to be well paid for, might be equally abundant. The pope, by a letter in Goubau's collection, lib. iii. ep. xlviii., cheerfully gives the apostolic dispensation required, and he does not forget, before he ends, the advantage to which the union may be turned for *extirpating heresies*.

† It is said that the lady was averse to the match; and possibly Sir Francis Walsingham may have mistaken when he writes—'The marriage between the P. of Navarre and the L. Margaret is not yet thoroughly concluded, religion being the only let: the gentlewoman being most desirous thereof, falleth to reading of the Bible, and to the use

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We shall see, in time, that this proposal was likewise sincere. A great object was to be attained, and some sacrifices were necessary.

Meanwhile the good Catholics of France were impatient under the restraint which the pacification imposed upon them, and conceiving it to be as much their duty to massacre as that of the reformed to be massacred, put their calling in frightful execution at Orange and Rouen. Charles kept working to his proposed end ; and one of his measures was, to issue an edict forbidding the carrying of arms. A progress through the provinces was made to ascertain the injuries sustained by the reformed. The admiral was restored to his state and dignities ; and the king wrote him a flattering letter with his own hand. Increasing toleration was extended to those of the religion ; and Coligny was treated with marked confidence. It may be added, as coinciding with this general scheme, that a marriage was being negotiated between the Duke of Anjou and Queen Elizabeth of England, in which it is hard to determine which party was most insincere. They both knew they could stick at religion. The artful

‘ of the Prayers used by them of the religion.’—Digges’s *Complete Ambassador*, p. 122.

mother of the duke seems to have been put to the greatest difficulty.

Here we leave France for the present : we shall have occasion to return to it for an important incident, respecting which our biographers recover their speech, and *confirm*, for they do not give, some important information.

We proceed to other countries.

CHAPTER IV.

Spain—Flanders—Duke of Alva—Naples—the Two Indies—Principal Constitutions of Pius—Breviary—Vices of the Clergy—Missal—Inquisition—Rosary—Baius—Reputed heretics, Bishop of Kiow, Dudith, two Hungarians, Carranza, Cellario, Carnesecchi, Paleario, many others—Germany.

It may at first sight seem extraordinary, that his vigilant Holiness should have nothing to do with the country of his Most Catholic Majesty, Philip II. of Spain. But the surprise will cease, when it is recollected, that the sovereign, having passed a novitiate of barbarity in this country, where, for certain good reasons, he commanded his chaplain to advocate clemency, was well prepared, by means of the Inquisition, and, under it, two autos at Valladolid, and two more at Seville, with minor ones, to quench the figurative conflagration of heresy, that is Christianity, by the literal burning of the bodies of those who, from conviction of the truth, and from feeling of its everlasting importance, feared not the fiery trial in the attempt to emancipate their country from the impious and soul-destroying superstition of popery. And so doing, they both saved their own souls, and those, there is no doubt, of numbers who heard them. Enough es-

capas, even from Spanish writers, of the papal communion, to demonstrate the extent of the blessing which the angels of darkness succeeded in extinguishing. And they have since had enough of their triumph. The letters of Pius to Philip have, therefore, nothing to do with that already purified territory. They refer exclusively to the duty of assisting France in its struggle with heresy ; to assistance to be given to the papal fugitives from England to Flanders, and to the affairs in his own dominions in Flanders *.

There is, however, a transaction recorded by Paramo, the Sicilian Inquisitor, being the joint production of the Spanish and Roman monarch, uniting in a natural respect for the Inquisition, which introduces them and their favourite tribunal to a new element. His Holiness considered his empire as not bounded by the land, but extending to the sea also ; and he would have gone to the centre of the globe, as well as to purgatory, could he have found subjects there. Philip, however, was the first mover in the present speculation.

* Besides the general historians of the time, see, in particular, Sanctæ Inquis. Hispan. Artes, &c. Reg. Gonsalvo Montano authore, Heidel., 1567, or any of the translations, especially the English one, 1569, with the Registers appended ; and the *Historia Pontifical*, &c., per Yllescas. But M'Crie's *Hist. of the Suppression*, &c., includes everything.

In the maritime preparations which were contributed by him for resisting the Turk in 1571, it was rationally presumed that the variegated crew of Armenians, Greeks, French, *English*, Flemish, Germans, would furnish some specimens of schism and heresy. He, therefore, applied to Pius to authorize an inquisitor to execute his office in the fleet, at such places as might be most convenient to him. Pius, of course, acquiesced most graciously, and provided a diploma to that effect, which is given at length, but contains only the matter which might be expected, dated July 27th, 1571. The first of these maritime inquisitors seems to have done nothing: but the next, D. Hieronymo Manrique, was an active man, and celebrated at Messina an auto, or, as it would there be called, an Atto Pubblico di Fede, where many criminals were castigated with various punishments—there might possibly be no burnings; but it is not said*. The principal operations of Spain, however, for repressing heresy, were in Flanders.

To that country, therefore, we now turn our attention; and we should have but an imper-

* De origine, &c. Officii Sanctæ Inquisitionis.—Matrisi, 1598, lib. ii. tit. 2. cap. xiv.

fect view of the exploits of the pontiff, whose memory we would revive, if we omitted the history of the Netherlands during his pontificate.

In the year 1566, the very year in which Pius the Fifth began his reign, there were great and well-founded apprehensions in Flanders, that their sovereign of Spain, who had performed such execution by means of the Inquisition in his own country, was about to try its efficacy in theirs. For this they were not quite prepared ; and the consequence was, a confederacy to resist it. The government under the Duchess of Parma, who was governess, exerted itself to restrain and cripple the progress of the reformed opinions by placards against meetings. But they had little effect, and the insurrections, which had been excited, continued. The consequence was, as in all such commotions, considerable outrage was committed, and images of the idolatrous Christianized superstition were extensively destroyed. This species of violence, however, was disapproved by the generality of Protestants. The confederacy was far from being that of a mob, or of a tumultuary character. It was headed by persons of high character, and of just requirements, particu-

larly the Prince of Orange. But it could not be expected that any thing papal or Spanish would listen to justice; and nothing was allowed to equitable liberty in religion but what was extorted. The tyrannical measures enforced by the bigotry of Spanish councils continued the disturbances; and in 1567 the Duke of Alva, much against the governess's wish, was sent to compose matters in the pontifical manner. Counts Egmont and Horn, who had espoused the reformed party, were imprisoned; and a Council of Tumults was instituted, which, from its sanguinary character, was called the *Council of Blood*. The two counts just mentioned were beheaded; and the persecution against the reformed increased. The Council of Trent was, in 1568, imposed upon the Romish clergy of Utrecht, which was felt as a grievance by them principally, because it obliged them to put away their concubines. The Prince of Orange had openly appeared in defence of the just and persecuted cause. At this time happened the death of Don Carlos, in prison, who is strongly, and not irrationally, suspected of having fallen a victim to the Inquisition, and, by the unnatural direction of his own father, *that* Philip, whose

hands to the very elbow were bathed in the blood of God's saints, and had declared that he would devote to death even his own son, if he were proved guilty of heresy. *His blood be upon us.* The persecution continued in 1569, and with so little discrimination, that papists themselves applied for protection to Protestants against their infuriated brethren. The conclusion of the whole of this brutal invasion of conscience in Flanders, as Alva was concerned, was, that he returned to his master and country, exulting that he had executed 18,000 heretics. For their blood he must account. But another result was, that about eight years after, seven provinces, under the Prince of Orange, emancipated themselves from the civil and religious despotism of the Spanish monarch and his barbarising religion*.

The concern of our pontiff was not so intimate and intriguing here as with the powers of France. But he found inducement, as his

* This account is taken principally from Brandt's *Hist. of the Reformation in the Low Countries*, books vi.—ix., English translation, with which Strada de Bello. Belg. substantially agrees. The confederates were known by the name of Gueux, or Gueuses. The origin is uncertain. They wore medals round their necks, which induced their adversaries, as a counter charm, to do the same. But these were blessed, and enriched with indulgences by the pope; and great was the veneration for them, as well as for his *Agnus Deus*.—Catena, 163-4.

letters testify, to urge his dearest catholic son, Philip, to seek the assistance of his relative the king of France, in quelling the heresy of his provinces, since he must feel it his own interest, from the proximity of the countries, to extinguish the flame, lest it should spread and pass to him. This was written January 17, 1567. On the 26th of August, in the next year, he writes to the duke, then in the Netherlands and governor, encouraging his dear son to go on in his course, and in this way to rise in his progress to everlasting glory; and, as he had begun, to continue his exertions to restore the Catholic religion in those provinces to its primitive condition. Writing again to the same on the 12th of December, the pontiff thus applauds and encourages his faithful servant: ‘ Nothing is more glorious to the church, or ‘ more acceptable to our paternal mind, than ‘ to learn, that military men and courageous ‘ generals, such as you were always known to ‘ be, and proved in the present most dangerous war, seek not their own interest or ‘ glory, but serve under the omnipotent God, ‘ who will reward his soldiers, fighting for ‘ him and the glory of his name, not with a ‘ corruptible, but with an eternal and im-

‘perishable crown.’ Who would imagine, that the murderer of eighteen thousand Christians was here addressed !

On receiving intelligence of one of the duke’s victories, Pius, at his request, ordained public supplications, processions, almsgivings, solemn masses, and thanksgivings ; and for the purpose of inspiring terror into the heretics, there were great rejoicings, with fire-works, at Rome, and a discharge of artillery from the castle of St. Angelo.

We now come to the pontiff’s performances in Naples. The king of Spain and his Holiness were not perfectly agreed upon the invasion of the authority of his viceroy. Pius, however, although he knew how to temporize, stuck at nothing for his own advancement. He appointed a visitor to Naples : the viceroy suggested the *Regium Exequatur*, or royal permission ; but the vicar of Christ stood on too high ground to attend to him, and he even prevailed with the Spanish monarch to interfere with his authority in his favour. The measure, we are told, produced great good, and the visitor was every where received with marks of distinguished favour. The same was the fact in Spain, France, and Germany. It was one great point with the

pontiff, to obtain the general publication of the bull *In Cœna Domini*. In this he was withstood by the Spanish ambassador, Don Luis de Requesenes, who is introduced by Gabutius in a scornful manner *, which does not appear in Catena, his usual and only authority. To his reasonable expostulation Pius replied at great length, opening with the declaration, that he was not bound to give account of his proceedings to lay princes; and continuing, that the constitution, although sometimes published only in the city, was of force throughout the world; that it was recognized in all jubilees and expiations issued from the Roman see; that it was named in the bulls de la Cruzada conceded to Spain at the royal request; and that it was not confined to general terms, with a great deal more in the same strain. He concluded by intimating, that he knew, and should keep his own place, and that princes should keep theirs. The king submitted, like a good son of the church †.

* Ecce tibi.

† Fuenmayor has very prudently abstained from walking over this tender ground. He who would form a just judgment of the transactions relative to the Regium Exequatur, the bull *In Cœna Domini*, and the Visitations in Naples at this time, must read Giannone, *Ist. di Napoli*, lib. xxxiii. cap. iv. v. vi. It appears from the first of these books, that

The Spanish biographer writes, at the end of his fourth book, that Pius was not a little disturbed to learn, that at Lyons and Toulouse there were discovered chests full of Calvin's Catechism, translated into the language, in order to be introduced into the kingdom, of Spain. To guard against which, he exhorted the king to be careful that no books entered his dominions but such as were approved by the commissaries of the holy office*. This fact is repeated by Gabutius.

the bull *In Cœna Domini* was published, not only in 1567, but in the next year, with increased fulminating intensity; and that it was obtruded upon the dependents of Rome to publish to the utmost extent, and with all their power. The confessors in particular were employed in this service. Indeed, the encroaching efforts of the papacy are exposed in this history with such truth and severity, that its place in the Index of Prohibited Books is no mystery. Edit. Haya 1753, tome iv. pp. 187—229.

* This fact is particularly noticed in *Relazione Tragica di Don Carlos* &c. In Colonia, 1680, p. 152, as a charge by cardinal Spínosa, inquisitor-general of Spain, against the delegates from the Netherlands—*accusava loro stessi d'aver fatto venir da Francia molte balle di Catechismi di Calvino sotto un passaporto di Don Carlos*. Catena, on mentioning this fact, enters—which his two successors have not ventured to do—upon some particulars respecting this truly tragical story. His representation is remarkable. 'Since,' he writes, 'it is a very noble act in the king to make a sacrifice of his own flesh, and his blood to God, and Pius publicly commended his Christian and Catholic mind, with his religion, saying,—*because he spared not his own son*—I will subjoin the letter which he wrote with his own hand to the pope.' The letter is given, dated Madrid, January 20, 1568, entitled only, 'upon the imprisonment of his son;' but the expression, which occurs about half-

Catena adds another respecting Spain, a pontifical order, that in the case of those who were put to death as heretics, no Habitelli, or Sanbenitos, with inscriptions to their memory, should be placed in the churches; but that their houses should be razed to the foundations, and a column erected in the middle of the ruins, with a marble tablet, on which their life and their end should be recorded*.

The indefatigable Pius, who thought nothing human alien from his care and jurisdiction, turned his attention to the two Indias, first to the East under the Portuguese dominion, and then to the West under

way that he (the writer) 'found no other remedy to fulfil the obedience ' which he owed to the service of God, and the public benefit of his ' kingdom,' strongly confirms the representation given in the little interesting volume mentioned above, that the *death* of the unfortunate prince was the result of the animosity of the Inquisition and the barbarous religion and command of his unnatural parent. Don Carlos abhorred the Inquisition, and made no secret of his mind. The protestant delegates from the Netherlands had, in all probability, engaged him in their cause; and this was discovered. The coincidence of the opinion of the inquisitors, as here represented, compared with that of the pope, as represented by Catena, is remarkable. They preferred this perpetrated filicide (to invent a new term) to the obedience of Abraham. 'They all with one voice compared this prince to the Eternal Father, ' who *had not spared his only son* for the salvation of the world.' Page 159. Llorente, in his *Hist. de l'Inquisition d'Espagne*, has largely considered this afflicting transaction.

* Page 107, Habitelli is the Italian name for Sanbenitos.

the Spanish, where Christianity had been introduced, first by the Franciscan, then by the Dominican and Augustinian orders, and finally by the labours of the Society of Jesus. He, at first, thought of an internuncio, but afterwards committed the affair to the respective sovereigns, to whom he gave his best advice and offer of assistance, recommending, that none should be compelled to embrace the Christian religion. Understanding, that the island of Japan was in difficulties from want of bishops, he first proposed the change of situation to the bishop of Ethiopia, wishing him to extend his care to China; but, upon his declining the charge, he applied to a Jesuit, Melchior Carnerius, a Portuguese, who was prevented by death from entering upon it*.

We are now at liberty to examine at leisure, and rather minutely, the more personal acts of the pontiff; although all his acts, by the laws of his church, and particularly with those who interpret them most rigidly, are of public concern in the corporation of which he is acknowledged head. The constitutions

* The epistles in Goubau, which refer to this subject, are lib. i. epp. 18, 19.; lib. ii. epp. 16, 17, 18.; lib. iii. epp. 24, 25, 49, 52. Several of these refer to Goa and the West Indies, as well as to South America.

of the first year of this pontificate, as far as they appeared of any moment, have been considered in their appropriate places. We now proceed chronologically. In 1567, February 8, it was found necessary to prohibit quæstuary, or venal indulgences; and care was to be taken, lest, on any pretence of indulgence, remission, or faculty, the faithful should be encouraged to the commission of fresh transgressions by the hope of easy pardon. For report had reached his Holiness's ear, that many quæstors, more devoted to money than the good of souls, had made a gainful trade of indulgences, &c. And all this, after Luther and the Reformation, and the remonstrances at the Council of Trent, had exercised their salutary terror upon this branch of Papal corruption and venality! The necessity for the interposition of authority to restrain this natural and habitual malady of Rome, we shall see in the sequel was not past. But whence came this tardy condemnation of purchasable indulgences, whence the discovery that they might operate as an encouragement to sin? Is not the supposition possible, that the trade may have been spoiled by its detected infamy, and that no customers appeared in the market?—'no

‘man buyeth their merchandise any more*.’—
And what is the reason, that even up to the
present age, the Bulla Cruzada, with which
every individual is obliged to furnish him
and herself by purchase with money, and of
which

‘The [pontiff] and the king divide the prize,’

is as universally and shamelessly as ever circulated in Spain †. This subject will shortly reappear with features more strongly marked. We must not be detained by hospitals, and mendicants, and bull-fights, and mock reforms; but there is a bull issued in 1568, July 7, which will occupy a rather lengthened attention by its importance. The subject is the reformed Breviary, executed in conformity with the direction of the last session of the Synod of Trent. This bull professes to restore the Breviary, which by length of time

* Rev. xviii. 11.

† One of these bulls, issued by Leo XII. in 1828, para el Principado de Catuluna, is in my possession. By means of a friend it was sent to me by post from Spain. It contains, at the end, a list of days on which souls may be liberated from purgatory. It varies, a little only, but prudentially, from the one of Urban VIII., given by Labat, in his *Voyages*, at the end of the first volume. Pius had, it will be remembered, in a preceding page, recognized his grant of this species of bull to Philip, in consequence of his request; and yet he has the effrontery to upbraid Spain in particular, as will be seen, with the practice of venal indulgence!

had become corrupt, to its original purity, as it was constituted by Gelasius and Gregory I., and reformed by Gregory VII. It abrogates the purified and compendious one, much in use at the time, (from these *allurements*, as it is expressed,) by cardinal Quignon. It strictly forbids any future change whatever, by addition, or subtraction, from the edition now published; and renews the obligations upon the priesthood to the daily recitation of the canonical hours, under the established penalties, enjoining upon all orders of the clergy to introduce the use of it in their respective churches, to the exclusion of all others.

This, with the work which it precedes and sanctions, is a document of so much importance, that we shall find our reward in dwelling upon the subject at some length. The reformed Breviary of cardinal Quignon, a work which he was encouraged to undertake by pontifical authority, that of Clement VIII., and which, when finished, he was allowed to dedicate to the reigning pontiff, Paul III., with a licence expressive of strong approbation, was too pure and Christian to satisfy the doctors of Trent, and the supreme ecclesiastic authority by which its decrees were to be put in execution. A new

revision, retaining a quantity of the rubbish and impiety, with which the later Breviaries were encrusted, was resolved upon; and Pius V. was the individual upon whom the duty of performing the labour devolved. The persons practically concerned in the undertaking, are enumerated by F. A. Zaccaria, in his *Bibliotheca Ritualis*, printed at Rome, 1776, and following years, page 116, who adds, from Lagomarsini, in the notes of the latter on the Life of Poggiano, copied by him in the whole of his account, that cardinal Sirlet had the principal management of the affair. The work, when accomplished, was published with the preceding bull affixed, in 1570*. Lagomarsini, in order to render visible the difference between the Quignonian and Pian Breviaries, has presented *two alphabetic lists*—the first of the Histories of Saints in the former, altered in the latter, in number 85; the second, of 55, absent from the former and appearing in the latter. To illustrate the *kind* of variation in the first of the two lists, he has presented two instances in the services of two important persons, St. Dominic and St. Francis. The pontifical

* It is remarkable, that no edition of the Breviary appears under this year in Renouard, Imp. des Aldes.

Breviary is, in both instances, the most extended, and distinguished by the restoration of repudiated miracles. It would have been desirable to have found the differences more copiously stated, and particularly the restoration which was made of the *Officium Parvum B. Mariæ*—as disgusting a concentration of blasphemy and idolatry, as deforms any part of the Papal services, and continued through the next reformed * edition by Clement VIII., up to the last Urbane one, as it now stands.

An observation or two is important upon the obligation to recite publicly or privately the daily portion of the Breviary. This is enjoined upon the beneficed clergy and

* It is really instructive to observe how little these pontiffs make of each other's authority, and most solemn prohibitions; and not less so, the grounds upon which the revisions and reformations in the present instance are made—it is all, *the carelessness of printers*, who, (poor souls!) dared not vindicate themselves: just as if it was not sufficient, that there should be kept an authentic copy of the first, Pian edition, by which all others should be corrected. The protestant public by this time know what are meant by the papal *diminutives*. The same artifice was employed to cover the discrepancies between the Sixtine, suppressed, and the Clementine editions of the Vulgate. It is a curious fact, if a fact, as asserted by Tempesti in his *Vita di Sisto V.*, that of the first of these two Bibles there were printed but about fifty copies; and that the press was then stopped, and those copies prohibited by the pontiff. Tomo ii. p. 62. I doubt the whole; but the invention will not heal the wound.

others, on pain of mortal sin, as well as certain temporal forfeitures. The canonical hours, as Zaccaria has very perspicuously laid it out, consist of eight parts*. The original producible authority for this obligation is in the twenty-first Session of the Council of Basil; and its authority *on this point* is not disputed by the Roman church. This is confirmed by the present constitution of Pius, which has received additional and equal sanction since. Nothing but the loss of his Breviary can exempt the priest from the obligation of performing this duty, and from certain guilt in neglecting it†. This is a momentous consideration, because it renders the church of Rome inextricably and fatally answerable for the fables and impieties contained in what she must acknowledge to be her principal formulary of public and private devotion, unless she is content to reply, that

* Biblioth. Ritual, tom. i. p. 96, et seq.

† The reader, if he choose to see the subject more fully considered and confirmed, may consult Grancolas, Comment. Hist. sur le Breviary Rom., tome ii. p. 99, et seq. Vasquez, de Beneficiis, c. iv. sec. i., to the question, whether those initiated in holy orders, from the sub-deacon to the bishop, are bound, in consequence, to the observance of the canonical hours, answers,—In hac re omnes citati autores sine controversia respondent, quod omnes isti tenentur, ratione ordinis, ad horas canonicas. He then quotes two or three Decretals of popes, concluding with the Council of Basil.

she considers it justifiable in a priest of God, in the solemn act of religion, to utter and inculcate, what he knows to be falsehood, folly, and blasphemy.

There is an awful, although short constitution of Pius, dated August 30, to which allusion has been made before, deeply illustrative of the demoralizing tendency of the Papal system, as regards the compulsory celibacy of the clergy. It is directed against clerical persons, whether secular or regular, who are guilty of an abominable crime, (that *dirum nefas*, as it is justly called,) who are first to be deprived, and then delivered over to the secular power, as laics, and dealt with accordingly. It appears from this provision, that the measures taken to the same purpose by the pontiff, as we have seen, at the beginning of his reign, were not sufficiently strong to restrain the rampant profligacy of the Roman Catholic clergy. Yet some of these offenders might, with no great violation of probability, be found among the most vociferous declaimers against the slanderously imputed sensualities of the reformers, and the sensual tendency of the Reformation*.

* A large portion of the actual vice of the Romish clergy may be traced to the ceremony of Confession, a part of the Sacrament of Penance, as practised in the church of Rome. Let the reader only advert to

In 1569 occurs a bull, banishing the Jews from all places in the dominions of the church, except Rome and Ancona, because the commerce with foreign nations rendered such exception expedient. It will be conjectured, that the pope thought it lawful to become a Jew to a Jew. Another, dated April 1, shews, that the triple-crowned inquisitor did not neglect to give assistance and protection to his favourite institution, and that the persons of its officers were as dear to him as ever*. On the 28th of June

pp. 213—215, and 229, 230, of the Garden of the Soul, by a late vicar apostolic, Dr. Challoner; and if he can point to pages more polluting in any work not of intentionally vicious tendency, he may congratulate his ingenuity. Nothing could degrade the moral sensibility of C. Butler, Esq., more completely than his attempt to defend the passage by a parallel with scripture, which is one of many proofs, how familiarly the Roman Catholic mind falls into disparaging views of scripture—the parallel is false and calumnious. But we need not better proof of the fact here asserted, than the *ex cathedra* assertions of popes in their bulls. Why did Pius IV. in 1561, Clement VIII. in 1592, Gregory XV. in 1622, Benedict XIV. in 1741, continue thus in succession their efforts to prevent the crime of solicitation at confession? In a mandate of the inquisitors of Valladolid, May 10, 1772,—still later—the inhabitants are required to give information, if they know of any such offence by confessors. O! si sic omnia! the inquisition then would have been guiltless. I have a folio in MS., apparently prepared for publication, formerly belonging to the earl of Guildford, *Practicabilia S. Officii*, anonymous, but evidently written in Italy, the Index of which is full of directions respecting this Confessorial crime. The reader will seek them in vain in Eymerie's *Directorium*.

* The offenders were to be considered and treated as guilty of treason,

Pius published in the same way, regulations about building chapels of the Confraternity of the Rosary, one of the numberless superstitious and idolatrous services of Rome, to which, of course, indulgences (the paper money of the Papal bank) are attached. In 1570, January 2, is another prohibition of quæstuary, or venal indulgences and confessionals; and Spain is accused of being the great offender in this sort. Absolutions, or a priest with power to grant them, are fairly sold for money (*soluta pecunia*) by Spanish prelates. In consequence of which many infirm persons, induced by the facility of pardon, become more propense to sin, persuading themselves that the remission of so many and so great crimes may be acquired at a certain, and the vilest price. Indexes of *cases* and *indulgences* were even affixed to the churches, thus proclaiming openly that they were on sale. The pontiff rightly judged, that such a practice would vilify the authority of the keys and enervate penitential satisfaction. He therefore prohibited

and delivered to the secular power. A MS., *Pratica per procedere nelle Cause del S. Officio*, from earl Guildford's MSS., softens the punishment, in case of the absence of bad intention, or the presence of mistaken good, to that of the galleys.

it*. This was proper; but such truths upon such authority, do not always transpire. The Roman church often acts with a degree of infatuated openness, when she imagines that her proceedings will not travel beyond her own walls †.—The bull against Elizabeth, queen of England, will come to be considered in another place.

The date of the 12th of July of this year presents to us the important subject of the reformed Missal. This was likewise decreed at the close of the Tridentine Council. After recognizing the decree, the bull proceeds to state, that the task was committed to chosen persons to restore the book to its original integrity, which, when done, the pope ordered to be printed; and the use of it, with some exceptions, was enjoined on the whole Roman Catholic church, the mother and mistress (as it is carefully added) of all churches. And in this Missal, it was ordained by the present perpetually binding constitution, nothing was

* — tot et tantorum delictorum remissionem, certo et vilissimo pretio acquirere posse confidunt. Indicem præterea casuum et indulgentiarum ædibus sacris appendi jusserunt, quo palam significatur solventibus superscripta concedi, &c. These were probably *fees of office*!

† The reader will recollect what has, at no great distance, been said on this subject before. If we had not such authority, Protestant invention and calumny would be cast in our teeth.

ever to be added, subtracted, or changed, under pain of papal indignation ! * How this conclusion was observed, a future Clement and Urban may tell. The Missal is that portion of the public religious service of the Roman church, which is connected with the administration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper ; and as such, contains matter of high importance in the controversy between our church and theirs, particularly as to the figment and idolatry of transubstantiation—a doctrine, successfully upset by the very form, (which she retains, without daring to reform, at least from early ages,) of the *Canon Missæ*. This idolatrous book of worship has, prefixed to it, and resting on the same authority, the completest antidote with which poison is ever accompanied, in the doctrine of the absolute necessity of correspondent *intention* in the ministering priest to the validity of the

* Bossuet, in his *Romance of the Variations of Protestants*, Preface, sec. xxvi., has challenged the detection of any variations in the liturgical books of his own church, from the foundation of Christianity to his own time ; professing his readiness, in case of such detection, to efface his whole history. The learned Koecher, in his *Obs. Select.* on this very subject, p. 143, &c., *Jenæ* 1767, has stated TEN such variations, on what Rome herself deems fundamental points—the Papal supremacy ; the heterodoxy of popes ; primacy of St. Peter ; prayers to the saints instead of for them ; St. Peter's subjection to the church ; purgatory ; and the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary.

sacrament administered ; so that the intention failing, the ministration is null. The consequences of this doctrine are so fatal to the main pretensions of the Roman church, (and were so seen in the Council of Trent,) that nothing but a particular and intelligible interest could have induced her thus virtually to degrade her own authority, and give it a rank inferior to that of almost any other church in Christendom: for where is the church, which nullifies her own ministrations so cheaply?

The 13th of October testifies the unabated solicitude of Pius for the Inquisition, in a confirmation of the privileges, prerogatives, indulgences, graces, to the society of crusaders, or soldiers of the faith, for the protection of the holy Inquisition against heretics. And on the 30th of November was issued a prohibition of disputations in preaching or writing, concerning the conception of the blessed Virgin. Who could have predicted that this would ever become a subject of furious controversy?

In the year 1571, and the 8th of February, is decreed the extinction of the order, *Fratrū Humiliatorum*, for alleged luxury and profligacy. Some doubt is excited against the

charge from the particular mention of a certain *heretic* among them. We understand Rome's heretics, being of that number, in this country, ourselves. A long bull, dated March 11th, after abolishing some others, approves a lately reformed *Office of the blessed Virgin*, attaching various indulgences to the recitation of it. This is *motu proprio*. On the 20th of September a short bull confirms the obligation of the clergy, particularly the beneficed, to the daily recitation of the canonical hours, declaring the neglect to be a great sin, (grave peccatum,) and denouncing the forfeiture of the revenues enjoyed in case of the omission.

By a constitution in 1572, March 12th, assistance against the Turk is invited by a promise of the *most* plenary pardon—the superlative degree costs the apostolic treasury no more than the positive. On the 19th of March came forth a bull against defamatory books.

We must not, however, take leave of the Bullarium of Pius, without noticing a bull which is not to be found there. It is one which condemns seventy-nine propositions of Michael Baius. It is extant in *Constitut. et Decret. Apost., &c.*, 12mo., printed at Cologne, 1686, *Superiorum Permissu*, and is

the first in the collection. Baius was a doctor and professor at Louvain. He rejected the scholastic method in his preaching, and taught the doctrines of Augustine on grace. This gave great offence; and his enemies obtained from Paris, in 1567, a bull of condemnation against him. The bull was not published at Rome; but only read by the Great Vicar to the faculty of divinity at Louvain. Baius defended himself: but the pope, by a breve in 1569, informed him that the matter was settled. There is a great deal more on this subject in Du Pin; but it is enough to say, that Baius was one of the worthy men whom his church could not endure, and that the sect of Baianism is substantially identical with that of Jansenism.

To those who have taken the episcopal oath of allegiance to the pope, or the oath, or profession of faith, of Pius IV., or believe in the personal inerrancy of the pontiff, or in his supreme jurisdiction in the church, there can be no appeal from the documents which have been detailed: and the obligation of *true* Roman Catholics may and ought to be calculated accordingly, particularly by governments dissenting from the papal; for they are statutes, which, though they may

sleep, never expire; and *some* are not repealed.

I propose here to introduce and concentrate some scattered information respecting reputed heretics. Without denying that Rome may have had some kinds of heresy in abomination, there was nothing in existence which she so much accounted heresy, and detested under that name, as real Christianity. All her charges, therefore, to this effect are at best doubtful, and may generally, with little risk, be interpreted by the rule of opposition. In most instances, indeed, she betrays the distrust which she inwardly feels, and, therefore, expects from others, by carefully shunning particulars, and employing only general terms of vituperation and abhorrence. This will appear in some instances which will be adduced.

The first is afforded by a letter of Pius to Sigismund, king of Poland, in 1567, respecting the bishop of Kiow, contained in the volume of the Epistles of Poggiano, so often referred to already, the fourth, pages 191 and following. The bishop is said to have usurped that title for a long time, to have worried the sheep and allowed them to be devoured, and to be a wild beast in the shape of a pastor.

The pontiff, therefore, urges Sigismund to fulfil his promise in expelling the unworthy prelate, and by that means to appease the anger of God ; otherwise he shall be obliged to apply the same remedy as he was under the necessity of using in France ; he means with respect to the seven bishops, of whom, from the notes, we have before given an account. It appears from those notes, that Commendone, in a letter to Cardinal Borromeo, about this same prelate, accuses him of not being a Catholic, and that he made a public profession of the *Trinitarian* heresy. This is a remarkable term, meaning precisely the contrary—*Anti-trinitarian* : but it is the term used in the bull in *Cœna Domini* of Pius V., which has been adverted to elsewhere. The accusation of Socinianism is probably as groundless as most Roman accusations under similar circumstances.

The next individual to whom heresy and Socinianism are, with equal probability, imputed, is the celebrated Andrew Dudith. This appears from an epistle of the same elevated accuser to the same sovereign as before, in the volume referred to in the former instance, pages 249 and following. Dudith was bishop of the Five Churches in

Hungary, the name in the country Otegiazac. The object is, to obtain the expulsion from the Polish dominions of this pest, this minister of Satan, who had violated the episcopal dignity by the enormous crime of matrimony, (*immani illo nuptiarum scelere violavit.*) If the monarch complied, he would confirm the good opinion which the pope had of him, and might succeed in ejecting the remaining monsters from his country—the Socinian sect is alluded to; and in an oration of the legate to his holiness, to be seen in the volume before us, beginning at page 129, particularly in the notes, citing Commendone, there is a very detailed, if it is an equally accurate, account of the miserable doctrinal state of Poland at the time. Dudith was sent into Poland by Ferdinand; settled there; resigned his bishopric, and married. He had mortally offended the legate at the Council of Trent by the freedom and justice of his speeches: but his fame is out of the reach of pontifical calumny. There is a quantity more about this eminent man, and apparent Christian, particularly in the notes, at page 196, and onwards.

At page 260 begins another letter from our pontiff to the Dean and Chapter of Toledo, which is most remarkable for the person

whom it concerns, Bartholomew Carranza, archbishop of that diocese. Commending their dutiful behaviour towards their prelate, Pius simply informs them, that the cause of the prelate would be carefully examined at Rome. Carranza came over to England at the marriage of Philip with Mary, who chose him for her confessor; and the king gave him the see of Toledo. He was present at the death of Charles V., and received his confession, and administered the sacrament. For this he, with others, was seized by the Inquisition, on suspicion of heresy, and sent to Rome, where he was imprisoned ten years. After the death of Pius he was dismissed, from defect of positive evidence against him; but on account of the strength of the presumptive, he was required to abjure, which he did, and died soon after*. We may just allude to another case of similar suspicion respecting Reginald, lord of Beaulne, in Burgundy, occurring among Poggiano's epistles, under the year 1568, and in which, although the letter itself is not written by him, yet, from the notes, it appears that the pope, naturally enough, took a part.

* See Du Pin, or any other ecclesiastical historian. Carranza is mentioned in the first and the last of the papal biographers: Fuenmayor is prudently silent about his own countryman.

In Goubau's Collection, under the year 1570, August 3d, we meet with a pontifical complaint to the archduke of Austria, of two persons, one at Cosliaco, a presbyter, Matthew de Pisino by name, who was a manifest heretic, seduced the people from catholicism to heretical falsity, and disseminated his venom wherever he could, to the great scandal of the faithful. In the same place was the other, a schoolmaster, similarly infected, who seduced, not only his pupils, but all he could meet with. Pius entreats that the offenders may be delivered into the hands of the ministers (*ministis*, who are these?) of the bishop. It is not improbable that these were sincere Christians.

Three particular victims of papistic calumny and cruelty in Italy, one of them omitted by the first biographer, who probably felt for his countryman and nearly his cotemporary, but recorded, two of them by the Spaniard, and all the three by Gabutius, deserve to be mentioned, however concisely, yet with due honour. The first is Francesco Cellario, a Protestant minister, who, from his cure at Morbegno, in the Valteline, made excursions for disseminating religious truth into the neighbouring towns, particularly

Mantua. He was noticed, waylaid, seized, and conveyed to Rome ; where, after a year's imprisonment, he was brought to the stake in 1569. This practice of violent abduction was carried on without opposition in those parts ; for it was an admitted doctrine, that a heretic was seizable by the pope's order in any part of the world. This mixture of treachery and barbarity produced extensive terror. The next victim was Pietro Carnesecchi, a Florentine, of good birth and education. He imbibed his evangelic convictions and views at Naples from Valdez. After some wanderings, he settled at Padua, within the Venetian territories, where he would be more free from disturbance from Rome. When Pius V. came to the chair, he retired to Florence, where he was arrested by the duke, his host, in his own palace, and brought before the Inquisition in Rome, on a charge, consisting of thirty-four articles, embracing the peculiar doctrines of Protestantism. To these he fearlessly adhered, and after much ineffectual effort to shake and reconvert him, he was beheaded and burned in 1567. Rome, as usual, has endeavoured to blot out his name : but it stands in the book of life and in the memory and affections of

the true servants of Christ. Gabutius mentions, additionally, Guido Zannetti da Fano, or Faenza, a notorious heretic, concealing himself at Padua, but seized by the great spiritual lord paramount; and whether recovered or sacrificed, does not plainly appear. There are some remarkable circumstances connected with this affair in Catena's relation. The Venetian senate wished the cause to be determined at Venice. But the pope opposed them; and in the course of his argument affirmed, that in the case of pure heresy secular princes have no right of cognizance; but are *obliged*, and swear to that purpose, *to put heretics to death* by their officers, when they are condemned by the church, and delivered over to their secular arm; and the daily recourse in such cases to the secular power arises, he added, not from any defect in the right of the church to make use of its own executioners, but from either not having them, or although they be had, finding them too weak to inflict the necessary chastisement without the aid of the temporal power. The senate bowed to the pontiff*. This alone

* Catena, p. 126—Sono obbligati—di fare per loro ministri morire gli heretici, &c.—Sono sì pochi, e deboli, che ha bisogno dell' aiuto, &c. The Spanish Inquisition directs the secular judges to get everything ready for the execution of its victims. Auto Gen. de Fe, por Olmo, 1680, pp. 287, 8.

would be sufficient to prove, if any proof were wanting, the utter hypocrisy of the recommendation to mercy of the victim so delivered.

The name of Aonio Paleario is sought in vain in our biographers. This good and eminent man knew, practised, and taught too much of the gospel, to escape the accusation of heresy; and four doctrines were charged upon him, of which the last was, that 'he appeared to ascribe justification solely to confidence in the mercy of God forgiving our sins through Jesus Christ.' He was found guilty, imprisoned for three years, gibbeted, and committed to the flames in 1570, and in the seventieth year of his age. He is one of the many, whose memory has had to endure the calumny after death of having previously been reconciled to the Roman faith*.

Gabutius, in introducing his own relation of these facts, as far as it goes, extols the unwearied and all-penetrating vigilance of his spiritual hero; observing, that he had a kind

* Not regarding the present undertaking as that of a historian, I content myself with the authorized statements of others; and can never do it with more confidence than when referring to such a history as M'Crie's, of the Suppression of the Ref. in Italy. Consult the Index.

of establishment of espionage composed of religious persons, who, with somewhat of a canine sagacity, *smelt out** heresy and heretics in the most remote, secret, and unsuspected places.

The instances which have been adduced are simply a specimen. The persecution of everything not papal was revived with fresh ferocity on the elevation of cardinal Alessandrino to the pontificate. All ranks in Bologna were subject to its violence. ‘Three persons,’ says a writer of that time, ‘have lately been burnt alive in that city, and two brothers of the noble family of Ercolani, have been seized on suspicion of heresy and sent bound to Rome.’ Many of the German students in the University were imprisoned, or obliged to flee. The following description of the state of matters in 1568, is from the pen of one, Thobias Eglinus, who was residing at that time on the borders of Italy. ‘At Rome some are every day burnt, hanged, or beheaded; all the prisons and places of confinement are filled; and they are obliged to build new ones. That large city cannot furnish gaols for the numbers of pious persons who are continually apprehended. A

* Odoratum.

‘ distinguished person, named Carnesecchi,
‘ formerly ambassador to the duke of Tus-
‘ cany, has been committed to the flames.
‘ Two persons of still greater distinction,
‘ baron Bernado di Angole, and count Peti-
‘ liano a genuine and brave Roman, are in
‘ prison. After long resistance, they were at
‘ last reduced to recant on a promise that
‘ they should be set at liberty. But what
‘ was the consequence? The one was con-
‘ demned to pay a fine of eighty thousand
‘ crowns, and to suffer perpetual imprison-
‘ ment; and the other to pay one thousand
‘ crowns, and be confined for life in the
‘ convent of the Jesuits. Thus have they,
‘ by a dishonourable defection, purchased a
‘ life worse than death*.’ So the purple

* I am indebted for the whole of this paragraph to M'Crie's History last cited, pp. 272—3. His reference for the last quotation is to De Porta's Hist. Ecc. Rhæt., ii. p. 486. There is a curious letter of Pius, the last in Goubau's Collection, addressed to a prince—A. N. Principem Virum—in which the pope exhausts his vituperative vocabulary in designating the heretics, (*i. e.* Reformed Christians, who have escaped and repudiated the pollutions of the Roman faith and manners,) and, while he earnestly exhorts the individual to expel the poison, broadly intimates, that a suspicion of being infected with it had reached even him. His holiness's son is therefore admonished to treat the spiders who had been weaving their net about him as their merits require, or to banish them. It is perfectly conjectural to whom this letter is addressed, as even the guide of a date fails. It may possibly be one of the Italian princes, which, being a neighbouring danger, would be felt with the pungency expressed in the letter.

and scarlet robed mother, not of Christian churches, but of harlots, sitting on the beast with seven heads and ten horns, of the same colour and blasphemy, rioted in the slaughter of the true flock of the Redeemer. ‘And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus; and when I saw her I wondered with great admiration*.’

Towards the end of the year 1568, as we learn from a letter to be adduced, (for our biographers are wonderfully reserved in dates,) the pope was alarmed by the intimation, that the emperor of Germany intended to allow the profession of the confession of Augsburg to the barons and nobles of the archduchy of Austria, and to the other here-

* Rev. xvii. v. 4—6. I cannot refrain from adding to the above an instance of two executions which occurred under the pontificate of Clement VIII. in 1595, as related by the cardinal D'Ossat, in a letter dated June 23, tome i. pp. 545—6, ed. 1714. Rome, he writes, has not been exempt from the scandal of heresy. Three weeks ago a Fleming was burnt alive in the Campo di Fiore, because he would not be converted; when an Englishman, about thirty, native of London, met the holy sacrament in procession, and gave the host a blow which knocked it out of the hands of the priest who carried it, exclaiming, that it was an idol. Within five days after, his hand and his tongue were cut off in the same place, and he was then burnt alive at the Campo di Fiore, besides that, all the way as he was led, he was burnt with flaming torches. Had the idolatry not been previously committed, this offence would not have been committed. Of how many cruel murders has transubstantiation been the cause!

ditary dominions, in consideration of a large contribution in money. Pius loses no time to send to him, as legate, a second time, cardinal Commendone, who threatened the emperor with deposition and substitution of another in his throne; and, with assistant efforts, terrified the sovereign so completely, that he referred everything to the determination of the pontiff, *who appeared, says Catena, as if present with a whip in his hand*; and all was settled to his holiness's wish. The letter alluded to is from Pius to Maximilian, expressing his pleasure on this termination of the business, and reminding him of his promise to drive certain heretical preachers out of the neighbouring towns. Then, urging general exertions for the good of the papacy, he concludes with admonishing his imperial subject of the fragility and inferior importance of earthly kingdoms, and the duty of making his power subservient to the advancement of the great spiritual kingdom. The date of this letter, which is in the collection so useful to us, is December 1, 1568. So the kings, then, continued to give their power to the beast and his rider. By the same means the pope preserved the church of Trent, from an attempt to seize it by the archduke of Austria.

CHAPTER V.

England—Letter of Pius to Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland
—Italy—Pius's letter to Catherine of France—Bull against Queen Elizabeth—Mary Queen of Scots—Poland—Prussia—Venice—Milan
—Miscellaneous Notices—Aquinas—Bonaventure—Female Pope John VIII.—Canon Law revised—Douay—National Synods.

ENGLAND will now furnish the theatre to the ambitious and energetic efforts for general dominion, and in particular, the aggrandizement and advancement of the secularized religion, of the pope, whose life and actions are the subject of this memoir*. Mary,

* I cannot prevail upon myself here to omit, although Ireland is principally concerned, the information given by Robert, son of Sir James, Ware, in the Second Part of his *Foxes and Firebrands*, Dublin, 1682, p. 35 and following. When Sir John Perrot was lord-deputy of Ireland, 1584, a Carmelite friar, Malachias Malone, was converted to protestantism, and stated certain facts before the Council in the Castle, among which was the following,—that he was employed by a Jesuit, Ludovic Freake, to convey certain instructions to Ireland, and particularly a Bull of Indulgence by Pius V., issued in the first year of his pontificate. The convert declares, that the bull was translated for him in Paris, where he was, into English, by John Warham, nephew of the archbishop. A long conversation followed with M. Freake, respecting the means of overthrowing protestantism; in the course of which the unbounded correspondence and intelligence of Pius are exultingly displayed. The statement is signed '28th of October, Anno. Dom. 1584, Malachias Malone.' Ware adds, that the original was sent to queen Elizabeth, that it is extant as a memorial of lord Burghley, and that a copy of it among his father's MSS. was given to him by John King, dean of Tuam. The important and appropriate thing is the bull, which is as follows:—

queen of Scotland, and her title to the throne of England, were the great fulcrum, upon which the confederated pontifical powers on the Continent, and their acknowledged centre and head, the arch-pontiff of Rome, placed the lever, in which they principally confided,

‘ Pius, the servant of servants of God, &c. Whereas we have found and daily find heresies increasing in several colonies, principalities, realms, and countries subject to the sacred see of St. Peter our predecessor, and they falling from and deserting our jurisdiction with their blasphemous and railing writings against US, our ceremonies and apostolic jurisdictions and privileges granted unto US and our successors from God, and formerly generally acknowledged by emperors, kings, and princes, to be Ours and our Predecessors’ due and right.

‘ We, therefore, in the name of the Holy Trinity; of the blessed mother of God, the Virgin Mary; of St. Peter; of St. Paul; in the name of the holy host of Heaven, of the Archangels and Angels; of the holy Apostles, Saints, and blessed Martyrs,—do anathematize all Heretics, lying, trading, or travelling in or amongst the same, where soever dispersed over the face of the whole earth. We further will and authorize the wise and learned of our ecclesiastics, expert in divine science, to labour, endeavour, and devise all manner of devices to be devised, to abate, assuage, and confound those Heresies, repugnant to our sacred Laws, that thereby these Heretics may be either recalled to confess their errors, and acknowledge our Jurisdiction of the see of Rome, or that a total infamy may be brought upon them and their posterities by a perpetual discord and contention among themselves, by which means they may either speedily perish by God’s wrath, or continue in eternal difference, to the reproach of Jew, Turk, Heathen, nay, to the Devils themselves. Given at Rome, the 6th Ide [11th] of May, Primo Pontif., Pius Quintus.’—Pages 40, 41. There is nothing essential, of which a perfect counterpart is not afforded by other acts of this pontiff; and the policy inculcated, which is quite that of Rome, was accurately practised, and was mournfully successful in this country not long after. See a Letter of bishop Bramhall to archbishop Usher, in Collection subjoined to the Life of the latter, pp. 611, 12.

for the dethronement and destruction, both of Elizabeth, the queen in possession, and the religion which she supported in opposition to that of Rome. The Pontifex Optimus Maximus of the Eternal City, who, as another god on earth, felt it a part of his sovereignty over nations, as well to raise up as to cast down, seemed to himself to have exercised too much and too long forbearance respecting England; and concluded, that now the country and its circumstances presented to him both a field and a call. Owing to his non-interference, and the judicious as well as equitable conduct of the queen and her government, it had enjoyed ten years of sweet peace and prosperity, acknowledged with gratitude at the time, and with regret when succeeding years had introduced a sad reverse*. We are not performing the office of a historian, but simply adapting so much of the English history, as will illustrate the interference of a pope with its concerns, to the records which remain of his proceedings. It

* See Speech of Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord-keeper, on the opening of the Parliament, 13 Eliz., 1571; D'Ewes's *Journals of all the Parliaments*, &c., p. 138. Watson's *Important Considerations*, p. 39, &c.; and the passage in the *Notes from Leicester's Commonwealth*, p. 162, &c., ed. 1641, as edited by the author of the present work in 1831, contain complete proof of this fact.

is, however, a historic remark, of deep and important truth, that the public affairs of England were in a great measure debated and settled in the cabinet council of the pontiff of Rome. This was seen and observed by those who lived at the time, and who were not in possession of all the evidence of the fact which has since transpired. Probably no author has expressed himself more justly and energetically to this purpose, than the great ornament of the age, bishop Jewell, in his *View of the Seditious Bull* issued by the pope against his sovereign. Referring to the rebellions which took place about the time, he adds,—‘there is no treason without conference. There, even there, began all our trouble. The master of this mischief sitteth at Rome; the coals were kindled here, but the bellows were there, and there sat he that blew the fire. We saw the puppets, but the juggler that drew the strings kept himself close. They which rebelled brake their oaths, forswore themselves, robbed their country, spoiled towns, burnt the holy Bible, the word of God; they cared neither for God nor man, neither for prince nor for law. They were promised furtherance in their doings, by insurrections

‘ which should have been likewise made in
‘ other places of the realm. In all this they
‘ took courage and countenance of pope
‘ Pius. He furnished them with all device of
‘ counsel ; he blessed them in their purpose ;
‘ he promised them forgiveness of their sins,
‘ for part of their wages.’

The unfortunate, but, in the judgment of the disinterested, not guiltless Mary, was in the year 1569, compelled to seek refuge from her own country in this. Her ambition did not forsake her ; and the duke of Norfolk was most imprudently and unconscientiously inveigled into the thoughts of uniting with her in marriage. Upon this he was sent to the Tower. The queen was detained in liberal confinement, as a person whom, on her own account, and on that of those who espoused her pretensions, it was reasonably judged imprudent to set at liberty. She had the preceding year, in a letter communicated by archbishop Usher to Fuller, and by him first published in his *Church History**, written to pope Pius to contradict the report, that she had changed her religion ; ‘ thereby,’ she says, ‘ to deprive me of your Holiness’s
‘ grace, and *the favour of other Catholic princes ;*’

* Cent. xvi. book ix.

and acknowledging, that she had been obliged to hear the prayers read in the vulgar tongue, for which offence, if any, she humbly craved pardon of his Holiness. This is dated Castle Boulton, where Sir Francis Knowles had charge of her. Although the sentence, 'the 'favour of other Catholic princes,' is capable of an innocent meaning, another is the more natural one.

About the close of the year 1569, probably the month of November, the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland were incited by Nicholas Morton, an English priest sent to England by the pope for that purpose, to set on foot a rebellion to raise Mary to the throne, and to restore, what they called the Catholic religion. By a letter dated the 8th of November, to the pope, as appears by his answer, which we are enabled, and it will be important, to give entire, it is evident, that these noblemen had applied to his Holiness for pecuniary assistance, in their hazardous and expensive undertaking. It would have been desirable to see in what precise terms these noble rebels expressed themselves. But in what manner their grand instigator and patron expressed himself will be apparent from his own words :—

‘ To our beloved sons, Thomas, Earl of Northumberland, and Charles, Earl of Westmorland, in England :—

‘ Beloved sons, noblemen, health and apostolic benediction.—By your letter of the 8th of November to us, to which, being delivered on the 16th of February *, we returned a speedy answer †, being made more certainly and intimately acquainted with the miseries and calamities, hitherto unknown, of that highly flourishing country, we were affected with that grief of mind, which both the indignity of the evils which we share with you, and the paternal affection which we bear towards you and the other Catholics of that kingdom, ought to produce. For, besides that common duty of pastoral charity with which we ought to rejoice in the welfare, and be grieved at the calamity, of all the faithful of Christ, and of every province in which the Christian name is professed, we are affected with a certain eminent prerogative of love and benevolence towards that kingdom, both because we remember it was formerly, by the labour

* The letter appears, then, to have taken a little more than three months to reach Rome.

† There must have been a previous, and probably more of a *business*, letter.

‘and industry of our own predecessor, the
‘most blessed Gregory, bishop of Rome, after
‘the Omnipotent God, converted from the
‘worship of wood and stones to the Christian
‘faith, and by fit men sent thither by him
‘instructed in manners, and in the Catho-
‘lic doctrine; and because it was used to
‘exhibit to the apostolic see an excellent
‘faith and sincerity of devotion. It cannot,
‘therefore, be easily expressed in words, how
‘much we are distressed and disturbed by
‘the evils of yourselves, and of that kingdom
‘which, not less truly than pathetically, you
‘deplore in your letter. We lament that so
‘many and so great poisons of the most in-
‘famous heresies and such deadly wounds
‘inflicted on the Christian republic should
‘more especially happen in the time of
‘our pontificate: we are troubled, because
‘we are compelled to be solicitous about your
‘and other Catholics’ danger. Yet, when
‘we remember the efficacy of *His* prayer,
‘who entreated for the blessed Peter, that
‘his faith might not fall, and who, by ex-
‘tending his church under tribulation, governs
‘it the more admirably by the providence
‘of his secret counsel, as he beholds it
‘agitated by the waves of perturbation; we.

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‘ do not despair that the same will be done
 ‘ in our times, with God’s assistance, as we
 ‘ learn was done in other times; that the
 ‘ very church which often seemed by the pre-
 ‘ vailing persecution of heretics to be trodden
 ‘ under foot, should, the Lord giving a sign
 ‘ to that purpose for good, return to her
 ‘ antient state of felicity, and acquire increase
 ‘ by the very means by which she seemed to
 ‘ sustain detriment. For behold now, He,
 ‘ who of old makes new, and of new old, Our
 ‘ Lord JESUS CHRIST, by you, who are most
 ‘ dear to us, no less by nobility of birth than
 ‘ by the prosecution of Catholic piety, has
 ‘ perhaps determined to restore and confirm
 ‘ the antient union of the Roman church and
 ‘ the kingdom; and has therefore inspired
 ‘ you with a mind so worthy of the zeal of
 ‘ your Christian faith as to urge you to the
 ‘ attempt, *to deliver yourselves and that kingdom*
 ‘ *from the basest servitude of a woman’s lust, and*
 ‘ *to recover them to the primitive obedience of this*
 ‘ *holy Roman see* *: which pious and religious
 ‘ endeavour of your minds we commend
 ‘ with due praises in the Lord; and bestowing
 ‘ upon it that benediction of ours which you
 ‘ seek, with the benignity which becomes us,

* ——— ex turpissimâ muliebris libidinis servitute ereptum, &c.

‘ we receive your honourable persons fleeing
‘ to the power and protection of us and of
‘ this holy see, to whose authority they sub-
‘ ject themselves ; exhorting you in the
‘ Lord, and with the greatest possible earnest-
‘ ness of our mind entreating you, to persevere
‘ constantly in this your so exceedingly good
‘ will and laudable purpose.; being assured,
‘ that the Omnipotent God, whose works are
‘ perfect, and who has excited you to deserve
‘ well of the Catholic faith in that kingdom,
‘ will be present to your assistance. But if,
‘ in asserting the Catholic faith and the au-
‘ thority of this holy see, you should hazard
‘ death and spill your blood, far better is it,
‘ for the confession of God, to fly by a com-
‘ pendious and glorious death, to eternal life,
‘ than, living basely and ignominiously, to
‘ *serve the will of an impotent woman, with the*
‘ *injury of your souls* *. For think not, beloved
‘ sons in Christ, that those Catholic bishops
‘ or princes of that kingdom whom you
‘ name, are ill dealt with ; who, because they
‘ would not forsake the profession of the
‘ Catholic faith, are either imprisoned, or are
‘ undeservedly visited with other punish-

* ——— turpiter et ignominiose viventes, impotentis feminae cupiditati cum animae vestrae detrimento servire.

'ments; for the constancy of these men;
 'which is even now confirmed by a recent
 'example, as we think, of the blessed Tho-
 'mas, archbishop of Canterbury, no man can
 'commend according to its worth. Imitating
 'yourselves this same constancy, be of a
 'courageous and constant mind, and desist
 'not from the enterprize for any denuncia-
 'tion of danger or threatenings: for God, in
 'whom you ought to repose your trust, who
 'plunged the chariot and army of Pharoah
 'in the sea, is able to break the strength and
 'power of his enemies, so that by you the
 'pristine religion and its antient dignity may
 'be restored to that kingdom: which, that it
 'may be effected, we will not only assist by
 'performing the offices which you desire with
 'Christian princes, but *by immediately granting*
 '*the sum of money which, according to our power,*
 '*and, agreeably to your request, we are able to*
 '*supply**, as you will understand more clearly
 'and fully by our beloved son, Robert Ro-
 'dulfus †; using our endeavour to contribute
 'hereafter a greater sum than the imbecility

* ——— sed etiam eà pecuniæ summâ in præsentâ conferendâ, quam
 pro nostris viribus potentibus vobis suppeditare poterimus; quemadmo-
 dum à dilecto Filio Roberto Rodulfo clariùs et copiosiùs intelligetis, &c.

† Ridolfi, a Florentine. There is always a great deal for such a con-
 fidential servant to deliver *orally*.

‘ of our means can bear, and, with a prompt
‘ and cheerful mind, to assist your pious en-
‘ deavour with all our property and power, as
‘ we are able in the Lord.

‘ Given at Rome, at St. Peter’s, under the
‘ seal of the Fisherman, the xxth day of Fe-
‘ bruary, M.D.LXX., in the fifth year of our
‘ pontificate*.’

Pius, for some time, had been no careless or negligent observer of the state of things in England. Catena, our first and principal guide in all that concerns both the private and public life of this bishop, and who, from his official situation as secretary to the Congregation of the Sacra Consulta, a kind of cabinet, under Sixtus V., and from his general integrity and information, is, on such a subject, entitled to peculiar confidence, has thrown a light upon transactions respecting this country which could be reflected from no other quarter so effectually, and which obtain incidental and strong confirmation from every other accessible source. Our biographer in-

* Goubau, lib. iv. ep. x. pp. 290, et seq. This letter is inserted and translated in an able tract, *A Brief Historical Account of the Behaviour of the Jesuites, &c., for the First Twenty-five Years of Queen Elizabeth’s Reign, &c.* pp. 35, et seq. The tract is in Gibson’s *Preservative*. The translation above differs in some degree from that in the tract. The meaning is fairly enough presented in either: but, as the document is highly important, it will be presented entire in the APPENDIX.

forms us, that Cardinal del Mondovi was appointed Nuncio to Scotland, but was prevented from landing on the island by means of the vigilance of the English queen. Entering with evident zeal into the cause of the Scottish one, he of course asserts the superiority of her title to the crown of England above that of the actual occupant, who, he adds, being the daughter of a concubine, was a bastard. He proceeds consistently to call her a *sink of evils*, with particular reference to the assistance given by her to the Protestants on the continent. In order to abate this nuisance, Pius deputed certain spies to get and give information of the proceedings both of the Catholics and of the heretics, and to animate the former to restore the antient ritual in the kingdom. As he could not appoint an apostolic nuncio, he employed Roberto Ridolfi, a Florentine gentleman, who resided in the country, under pretence of merchandize, to excite a rebellion for the destruction of Elizabeth. This man is said to have persuaded many Protestants to enter into his designs, under specious pretences, and by paying court to their selfishness. It is impossible to resist a forcible application of such a fact to the present disgraceful and

melancholy times in this country. The pontiff found some difficulty, although no charge could lie against him for deficiency of zeal and energy in the application, as we shall shortly see, in acquiring the co-operation of the king of Spain *in this cause of religion*; although that monarch felt the weight of the concluding consideration. He used similar efforts with France, which, however, at the time was pretty well employed with intestine commotions.

We now leave our guide for a moment to follow another, equally authentic,—the pontifical epistles. There is a letter of Pius to the Queen of Scots, acknowledging the receipt of one from her, dated the 15th of October, 1569; and his reply is dated January 9th, 1570. From this it appears that the captive princess had applied to the spiritual father for temporal assistance, and particularly that he should endeavour to interest the two kings, certainly of Spain and France, in her behalf. The pontiff gives her very good and paternal advice on the subject of patience under affliction, and professes his readiness to execute her requests, as he had done in general assistance before*.

* Speaking of her providential deliverance prospectively, Pius adds—

The rebellion of the two northern noblemen maintained itself but for a short time. Catena represents the army as amounting to 12,000; but, from want of resources, it was dissipated before the end of the year 1569, and the heads of it outlawed. There was, however, too much of material and arrangement in the spirit of rebellion to allow of so speedy an evaporation.

We must now return to Italy; for there, in the councils of a foreign and remote bishop, as we have observed, the concerns of the British monarchy were to be determined, and see how the intermeddling and secular pontiff performed his promise to the queen of Scots. In pursuing these transactions, we ought to bear in mind the time taken for the transmission of information between two distant places, being in the present case, as appears by two instances, about three months. When, therefore, Pius wrote to Philip of Spain on the 8th, (or 5th, so it is in Catena) of March, 1570, he was probably unacquainted with the suppression of the re-

Quod ut fiat, nos pro parte nostrâ quibuscumque rebus poterimus, quemadmodum antea quoque fecimus, parati sumus adjuvare. Quâ de re cum utrisque quos scribis Regibus agendum nostro nomine diligenter curabimus; eisque salutem tuam, Regnique tui incolumitatem ut debemus, vehementer commendabimus; parati ea omnia tibi paternæ nostræ voluntatis officia semper præstare, &c.—Lib. iii. ep. liv.

bellion at the close of 1569. However, on other accounts, the letter to the Spanish monarch is an extraordinary and important one. It stands the first in Catena's collection, translated into Italian, at the end of his biography; and may be considered as a kind of pontifical exposè of the state of Christendom. It is considerably longer than any of the other epistles. It begins with bemoaning the present miserable aspect of affairs throughout the Christian republic—the irruption of the Turks into Hungary—the lower portion of Germany, the Netherlands, a prey to the outrages of turbulent heretics—France ravaged by the similar fury and audacity of heretics, its priesthood insulted, and all things full of blood and sorrow—the king himself saved by miracle from the hands of domestic enemies, among whom he holds a precarious kingdom. ‘And what shall we say of the ‘kingdom of England,’ adds the alarmed pontiff, ‘formerly so flourishing, into which, ‘while a woman assuming to be queen, and ‘exercising the cruelest tyranny, as into a ‘kind of sink, the filth of every heresy flows ‘—a woman, who having abolished the sacrifice of the most holy mass, having committed Catholic bishops to dungeons, having ‘expelled from her councils noble and ho-

‘nourable men, (what is miserable and horrible to be told,) calls herself head of the Anglican church. This same most deceptious woman, or rather disgrace of the Christian republic, detains as a captive our dearest daughter in Christ, the queen of Scotland, deprived of her kingdom and all her property ; and forces Catholics by her arrogant edicts to profess heresy and deny the true faith ; aiming at this one object above all, that no vestige of the Catholic religion should be left in the kingdom.’ Then succeeds the terror of the Turk, which by the detail and ardour of the representation seems to agitate the papal sensibility with more substantial and arousing, if not more sincere, apprehension. The orator, whether his holiness or his secretary, gets warm as he proceeds :—‘Thou therefore, dearest son in Christ, whom the omnipotent God has adorned with such excellent virtues, has enriched with so many most opulent kingdoms, do thou first exhort the Christian princes to unite in a league against the common enemy ; the other kings will follow thy authority ; there will be none who will not account the common danger his own. We will assist,’ &c. As the peroration approaches, a prosopopœa is introduced of the

church. ‘ The holy mother church, grieving
‘ and sighing, stands imploring in an espe-
‘ cial manner your help and assistance. If a
‘ son hear not the voice of his mother, who
‘ else will hear it? We likewise stand before
‘ you, we, to whom God, however unworthy,
‘ has committed the care and guardianship of
‘ souls and of all churches ; and in the pre-
‘ sent darkness of so many heresies, so many
‘ tempests of the Turks, keeping guard over
‘ the Lord’s flock during the thickest night,
‘ we announce with tears and groans to
‘ Christian princes, and to thee in the first
‘ place, the clamour of the wolves which are
‘ approaching,’ &c. At the close is recom-
mended *a trusty servant to explain by word of
mouth, what could not so well be committed to
writing* *.

We are now regularly arrived at the most critical and important point of the interference of Pius in the concerns of this country, the publication of his bull of excommunication, and prohibition of the allegiance of her subjects, against queen Elizabeth. In Gregorio Leti’s Life of Sixtus

* Goubau, lib. iv. ep. xiii. It is unnecessary to present the original, since the quotations are given very literally, and the sentiments are very familiar.

V., which, for statement of plain fact, is generally accounted worthy of credit, we are informed, that the present pontiff, who had made Felice Peretti, cardinal Montalto, had instituted a *sacra consulta* of four cardinals and three prelates, for the purpose of deliberating concerning the affairs of England as they then stood, and that he made Montalto a bishop, to qualify him to become a member. King Philip wrote to Montalto to desire him to urge upon his holiness, that he should no longer delay to fulminate the greater excommunication against the queen of England, and make her an object of horror to the whole world. In this assembly it was consulted how to express the excommunication, so as to have greater force than the general excommunication, under which she already lay, by virtue of the bull *In Cœna Domini* *; and Montalto was charged to make a draft of one. He performed it in Italian, and it was

* This is a serious consideration, confirmed by the best judges, for temporal sovereigns out of the pale of Rome's church. They have a bull in perpetual force, which anathematizes and excommunicates them. Although the usual publication of this bull is suspended, it still exists, operates, and is acted upon. It may sleep, but it is not dead. Its slumbers may be terminated by any pontiff. This has been freely acknowledged by papal writers—by count Ferdinand dal Pozzo, by cardinal Erskine, by Dr. Sleven. See *Literary Policy of the Church of Rome*, pp. 260, 1, note.

adopted without any alteration in a Latin translation, as it then appeared, and is now extant. The original Italian is given entire; and is dated February 25, 1569, [1570,] in the fifth year of Pius's pontificate, which must be 1570 *.

As this is a most important document to Englishmen, nationally considered, I subjoin a translation of it; although it is extant in various works, both in Latin and in English. It is, however, an integral part of the biography in which we are engaged.

' The Damnation and Excommunication of
' Elizabeth, Queen of England, and her Ad-
' herents, with an addition of other punish-
' ments.

' Pius, bishop, servant of the servants
' of God, for a perpetual memorial of the
' matter.

' He that reigneth on high, to whom is
' given all power in heaven and in earth,
' committed the holy Catholic, and apostolic
' church, out of which there is no salvation,

* Vita di Sisto V., Amstel. 1721, Parte prima, p. 346 and following. It is a matter of curiosity to observe the variation between an original translated into another language, and then translated back into the language of the original. In the present instance there appears to be the variation which might be expected.

‘ to one alone upon earth, namely, to Peter
‘ the prince of the apostles, and to Peter’s
‘ successor the bishop of Rome, to be go-
‘ verned in plenitude of power. Him alone
‘ he made prince over all people, and all
‘ kingdoms, to pluck up, destroy, scatter,
‘ consume, plant and build, that he may re-
‘ tain the faithful who are knit together with
‘ the band of charity, in the unity of the
‘ Spirit, and present them spotless and un-
‘ blameable to their Saviour.

‘ In discharge of which function, we, who
‘ are by God’s goodness called to the govern-
‘ ment of the aforesaid church, spare no
‘ pains, labouring with all earnestness, that
‘ unity, and the catholic religion, which its
‘ author has, for the trial of his children’s
‘ faith, and for our amendment, suffered to be
‘ punished with so great afflictions, may be
‘ preserved uncorrupt. But the number of
‘ the ungodly has obtained such power, that
‘ now there is no place in the world which
‘ they have not endeavoured to corrupt with
‘ their most wicked doctrines. Among others,
‘ Elizabeth, the pretended queen of England,
‘ a slave of wickedness, lending to it her as-
‘ sistance; with whom, as in a sanctuary, the
‘ most pernicious of all men have found a

‘ refuge. This very woman having seized on
‘ the kingdom, and monstrously usurping the
‘ place of the supreme head of the church in
‘ all England, and the chief authority and
‘ jurisdiction of it, has reduced the said king-
‘ dom to miserable destruction, which was
‘ then newly restored to the catholic faith,
‘ and a good condition.

‘ For having by a strong hand prohibited
‘ the exercise of the true religion, which
‘ Mary, lawful queen of famous memory, had
‘ by the help of this see restored, after it had
‘ been overthrown by Henry VIII., a revolter
‘ from it; and following and embracing the
‘ errors of heretics, she hath removed the
‘ royal council, consisting of the English no-
‘ bility, and filled it with obscure men, here-
‘ tics, oppressed those who embraced the
‘ catholic faith, replaced impious preachers,
‘ ministers of iniquity, abolished the sacrifice
‘ of the mass, prayers, fasting, distinction of
‘ meats, unmarried life, and the catholic rites.
‘ Books containing manifest heresies and im-
‘ pious mysteries and institutions by herself
‘ entertained and observed according to the
‘ prescription of Calvin, she hath commanded
‘ to be read and observed throughout her king-
‘ dom by all her subjects: daring to eject

‘ from their churches and benefices, bishops,
‘ rectors of churches, and other catholic
‘ priests; and to bestow them and other
‘ church livings upon heretics, and to deter-
‘ mine ecclesiastic causes; prohibited the
‘ prelates, clergy, and people to acknowledge
‘ the church of Rome, or to obey its precepts
‘ or canonical sanctions; compelled most of
‘ them to submit to her wicked laws, and to
‘ abjure the authority and obedience of the
‘ bishop of Rome, and to acknowledge her to
‘ be the sole mistress in temporals and spiri-
‘ tuals, and this by oath; imposed penalties
‘ and punishments upon those who obeyed
‘ not, and exacted them of those who perse-
‘ vered in the unity of the faith and their
‘ obedience; and cast the catholic prelates and
‘ rectors of churches into prison, where many
‘ of them being exhausted with continual
‘ languor and sorrow, miserably ended their
‘ lives. All which things, since they are ma-
‘ nifest and notorious to all nations, and by
‘ the gravest testimony of very many so sub-
‘ stantially proved, that there is no place at
‘ all left for excuse, defence, or evasion—

‘ We, seeing that impieties and wicked-
‘ nesses are multiplied upon one another, and
‘ moreover, that the persecution of the faith-

‘ful, and affliction for religion increase every
‘day in weight, through the instigation and
‘means of the said Elizabeth,—because we
‘understand her mind to be so stubborn and
‘hardened, that she has not only contemned
‘the godly requests and admonition of ca-
‘tholic princes for her healing and conver-
‘sion, but has not even permitted the nuncios
‘of this see to cross the seas into England,—
‘are of necessity constrained to betake our-
‘selves to the weapons of justice against her,
‘not being able to assuage our sorrow that
‘we are induced to inflict punishment upon
‘one to whose ancestors the whole state of
‘Christendom has been so bounden. Sup-
‘ported therefore by his authority, whose
‘pleasure it was to place US, although un-
‘equal to so great a burthen, in this supreme
‘throne of justice, we do, out of the fulness
‘of our apostolic power, declare the aforesaid
‘Elizabeth, being a heretic, and a favourer of
‘heretics, and her adherents in the matters
‘aforesaid, to have incurred the sentence of
‘anathema, and to be cut off from the Unity
‘of the body of Christ.

‘And moreover we do declare Her to be
‘deprived of her pretended title to the king-

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‘ dom aforesaid, and of all dominion, dignity,
‘ and privilege whatsoever.

‘ And also the nobility, subjects, and
‘ people of the said kingdom, and all others
‘ who have in any manner sworn to her, to be
‘ forever absolved from any such oath and all
‘ kind of duty, fidelity, and obedience, as we
‘ do by authority of these presents absolve
‘ them, and do deprive the same Elizabeth of
‘ her pretended title to the kingdom, and all
‘ other things abovesaid. And we do com-
‘ mand and interdict all and every the noble-
‘ men, subjects, people, and others aforesaid;
‘ that they presume not to obey her, or her
‘ monitions, mandates, and laws; and those
‘ who shall do the contrary we do involve in
‘ the same sentence of anathema.

‘ And because it were a matter of too much
‘ difficulty, to convey these presents to all
‘ places where it shall be needful, our will is,
‘ that the copies of it, under a public notary’s
‘ hand, and sealed with the seal of an eccle-
‘ siastic prelate, or of his court, shall carry
‘ altogether the same credit with all people,
‘ judicial and extra-judicial, as these pre-
‘ sents should do if they were exhibited and
‘ shewn.

‘ Given at Rome, at St. Peter’s, in the year
‘ of the Incarnation of our Lord, 1570, the
‘ fifth of the Kalends of May, [April 27,]
‘ and the fifth year of our pontificate *.’

* This translation is in the main adopted from that in Barlow, bishop of Lincoln’s, *Brutum Fulmen*, or the Bull of pope Pius V., &c., a work of great original research and value, and far from being superseded in the present age. Indeed, some of our superficial and summary deciders upon points requiring more reading than that of a journal or a review, would probably gain some useful information from this portion of an old, but not obsolete, almanac. The original bull is to be found in various places. It would be inexcusable, however, in a work like this, to omit the original of an instrument so illustrative of the character of its author; and it will therefore be found in the APPENDIX. Bishop Jewel has left some able and eloquent strictures upon this pontifical manifesto in his *View of a seditious Bull*, &c. Scarcely any portion is more remarkable for his characteristic excellences, than that in which he chastised the low-minded reflexion of the pontiff upon the shelter afforded to the unhappy persons whom he persecuted out of their own country, and who, he would be doubly mortified to find, had escaped his fury by finding an asylum in the dominions of the British queen. And yet it appears from the orders for inquiry by Elizabeth and the archbishop of Canterbury, that great care was taken in this work of exemplary charity to distinguish between those who came into the country for conscience sake, and those who came from improper motives. See Wilkins’s *Cancilia*, iv. pp. 254—5. This repeated reference to the name of Jewel, suggests the regret, that any individual filling so honourable and responsible a situation as that of head master of Rugby School, should hold his sense of Christian duty so cheap, as, for the sake of recommending his favour to the church of Rome, to allow himself to calumniate one of the brightest ornaments of his own church. With the logic of Loyola, or Oriel College, he has not only stigmatized the church of which he is a minister, as persecuting, but has extended that charge to a prelate, whose principles of toleration did not allow him even to be a slanderer of his brethren. He has grounded his accusation on misconception and mistranslation, which would dishonour a pupil in his

I have given the date of this extraordinary document as it stands in the *Bullarium Magnum* of Cherubini. But there are some variations, besides plain errors, which may have arisen from the number and variety of the dispersed copies. Edward Rishton (or Rush-ton), the continuator of Sanders, de Schismate A., who gives the bull at length, dates it Quinto Kl. Martii (February 27th) 1569, Pontificatus nostri anno quinto, (which sufficiently proves that the year intended must be 1570, reckoning from January 1st, not as was frequently done even in Italy at the time, from the vernal equinox) Cæ. Glorierius. H. Cumin. Catena, who places the bull among his collection of Letters, in an Italian translation, dates 1569, il xxv di Febbraio, l'anno Quinto del Ponteficato nostro. Cesare Glorieri. H. Camin.

We may recapitulate the contents of this thunderbolt of the Vatican, by observing, 1. That his Papal Majesty anathematizes and

third or fourth form. If the reader would see this countercharge established, and a persecuted as well as calumniated church vindicated, he will find abundant satisfaction in the Rev. T. P. Pantin's *Observations* on Dr. Arnold's *Christian Duty*, &c., particularly pp. 58—63. This author has gone to the foundations, and has correctly ascertained the station which the incompetent and temerarious, on the subjects discussed by him, should occupy.

excommunicates her Majesty of England, as a *slave of impiety*, a *heretic*, and a *favourer of heretics*: 2. He *deposes and deprives her of her pretended right to the crown of England, &c.*; forgetting that to deprive implies, not pretence, but possession: 3. He *absolves all her subjects from their allegiance*, and all others from their *oaths*—and that, *for ever*: 4. He not only negatively releases from obedience, but positively enjoins disobedience, under penalty of the same anathema and excommunication as were denounced against the queen: 5. And, that all might have equal measure, his holiness sweeps the whole land with the impartial and unsparing besom of his curse, including his own good Catholics, together with the heretics; so that not being quite so *powerful* as they were presumed to be, they were fain to apply to the next pontiff for a relaxation in this particular, who so far indulged them as to release them from the obligation, *while the necessity continued*, but leaving all besides, princess and heretical subjects, under its entire damnatory operation*. This was not intended to be, and might not have been, a *brutum fulmen*.

* See a detailed account of this extraordinary fact in Lord Burghley Execution of Justice in England not for Religion but for Treason, attempted, but ineffectually, to be answered by the traitors.

We now resume the narrative of Catena. There was some difficulty in publishing the bull in Spain and France, from an apprehension of provoking *that guilty woman**; and therefore copies were sent to Ridolfi to be disseminated in the kingdom itself, as was done, and transcripts were multiplied. John Melela, or Felton, (unless there were two persons concerned, as Fuenmayor, and after him De Thou, have written,) affixed one copy to the gates of the bishop of London's palace at St. Paul's. This happened in the month of August, as De Thou affirms; and our historians say that, being the evening when the bull was so published, it remained in its place to an advanced hour of the following morning. The offender, who did not endeavour to escape, was seized, and gloried in the act, and was hanged reaping the fame of a martyr from his party.

* It should seem, however, from a letter of Sir Francis Walsingham, our ambassador in France at the time, that the bull, and the same, was set up at *Ponte de St. Etienne*, on the same day (March 2,) as in London by Felton; and that, upon remonstrance being made to the king, he was very indignant. This, perhaps, was a kind of smuggled publication; or, as it so terminated, the papal biographer thought best to represent the attempt as not made. The letter is dated 5th of March, 1570. —Digges's *Complete Ambassador*, p. 49. The dates in this highly valuable work are very incorrectly given. But of the fact vouched for there can be no question. Strype, in his *Annals*, follows Walsingham: if they be correct, De Thou's date must be wrong.

From our own historians, Camden in particular, we learn that various minor and abortive, and, therefore, deserted and disowned, plots took place at this time, indicative of powerful instigation and assurance of peculiar support, first, to liberate the duke of Norfolk from the confinement in which it was deemed expedient to place him, and, likewise, which is less to be wondered at, to liberate the queen of Scots from hers.

Camden seems to speak of the neglect with which the damnatory bull, published as it was, was received by the party whom it would be expected to inflame and rouse to vigorous activity; not seeming to be aware, how much it is a general, and more especially a papal, policy to discover no designs of such a nature, except when they are likely to be successful*. The fact was, it was attacking a wall to

* The tract of the Jesuite's behaviour for the first twenty-five years of queen Elizabeth, cites Sanders, de Visib. Eccles. Monarch., p. 706, as saying that the bull was dated a year before, and ascribes the failure of the rebellion to the delay in publishing it: the Catholics not knowing in time that the queen was declared a heretic. See likewise to the same purpose, Watson's Important Considerations, p. 45, last edition. This respectable secular priest excuses Pius in part, as being *misinformed*. This is probable enough: sanguine partisans may have misled the pontiff; but the defeat of the treason was owing to other causes; and an unsuccessful plot is always in disgrace—its best friends will no longer own it. See likewise his Quodlibets, p. 262. But why did not the inerrant one detect the imposition?

attempt putting the bull in execution at the time. The heads of the conspiracy were in prison, Ridolfi among the rest; but nothing being to be made of them for discovery, they were all released but Norfolk. Ridolfi had 150,000 crowns sent to him for the service of the rebels. Catena represents Elizabeth as alarmed, at the bull more especially, and particularly as coming from Pius, whose election and life she regarded as miraculous. The rebels had by no means abandoned their hopes. They sent Ridolfi to the pope to inform him that, on their part, everything was prepared. Pius endeavoured to engage the duke of Alva in the enterprise, who, however, seemed to think too much of the danger*. He then sent a breve to the king of Portugal, whom he does not seem to have tried before, and begged him to assist, adding, that if it were necessary for the attainment of so great a benefit to all Christianity, he would himself attend in person, and employ in the cause all the property of the apostolic see, with chalices, crosses, and the sacred vestments. The king of Spain was at length gained. The whole plot, however, was discovered by some traitor: letters of the duke

* Lib. iv. ep. xxxvi.

of Norfolk were seized, together with 12,000 crowns sent by him to his friends in Scotland. He was again imprisoned, tried, and put to death. There were some movements to the same purpose in Ireland at the same time. Such is, in short, the account of Catena.

The duke of Norfolk did not suffer till the year 1572. In the mean time there appears a letter of the pontiff to Mary, dated July 13th, 1570, acknowledging a letter from her of the 30th of April, in answer to one of his of the date of January 9th, in recommendation of patience; but which is of no value, except as illustrating the unintermitted communication between the parties. There follows in the collection, which is so serviceable to us, another letter from the queen to the pope, which is given as well by Catena in Italian, and has been translated into English, and inserted by our honest countryman, Fuller, in his Church History of Great Britain. It is dated from Chatsworth, October 31st, 1570. The last letter of his holiness is acknowledged: regret is expressed at not being able to assist against the Turk; then follows a lamentation at being, from a free woman, made a slave: the fate and danger of Scotland are then deplored, and the necessity

of peace with England: assurance is given for the Catholic education of James; and further particulars are referred to *the verbal communications of a faithful servant, the bishop of Dublin* *. Fuller observes, that, at this time, the affairs of the captive were in a promising state, had not all been reversed by her practising with the pope and foreign princes.

Our documents respecting papal operations in England shall be closed with a letter to Catherine, queen-mother of France. The date is December 15th, 1571. It is both in Goubau and in Catena. The pontiff presses Catherine by the plea of gratitude and self-preservation to assist the English Catholics. When there was danger to France, that Coligny, backed by the most wicked queen of England, might have prevailed, the evil was averted by employment being given to that queen at home. The nobles of England, by the persuasion of the bishop de la Motte, and the intercession of R. Ridolfi, opposed that worthless woman, and saved France. This they promised carefully to attend to, without forgetting to defend the cause of the Scottish queen, *lawfully reigning over them* †. The pon-

* Goubau, lib. iv. epp. xxxvii., xxxviii.

† Ce passage est des plus remarquables pour l'histoire d'Elisabeth. On

tiff complains that the king had forgotten his obligations, and deserted the English Catholics ; and reminds his correspondent that the promises of Elizabeth were not to be relied upon, as she was persuaded by her counselors that all her safety depended upon assisting the Gallic and Belgic Protestants. Whence her majesty might calculate the injury to France from the loss of the English nobility, who, if protected, would be its great defence. Above all, the queen of Scots should not be deserted. ‘ If,’ he proceeds, ‘ God willing, she should obtain the kingdom of England, the tumults of France would no longer be endured, nor would that island ever again come into the hands of any Protestant prince, who would not fail to vex France, and the whole Christian republic besides.’ There was perpetual commerce

y voit clairement que ce ne fut pas la jalousie, mais la politique seule qui la porta à faire mourir Marie Stuart. Une conspiration formidable, ourdie au sein même de ses états contre le gouvernement et la religion établis, et surtout contre elle-même, conspiration soutenue par la France, par l’Espagne et par Rome, et excitée par tout le fanatisme que devaient faire naître, à cette malheureuse époque, les horribles anathèmes de Saint Pie V., la forçait en quelque sorte à un coup d’état, sur lequel l’humanité gémit, mais que la loi suprême du salut public excuse. Il fallait pour la prospérité de l’Angleterre, non-seulement qu’Elizabeth vécût, mais encore qu’elle régnaît, et que la réforme de l’église Anglicane servît à soustraire à jamais ses concitoyens et leurs chefs au joug anti-national et anti-social de l’église romaine.—De Potter.

between the Protestants of England and France. The pope was fairly deceived by the pretence of an invasion of the Netherlands, and deprecates it. In the close the pontiff again urges the promises and obligations of the queen-mother to himself, and the whole church; and ending with his dearest desire, the succession of the Scottish queen to the throne of England, and her alliance in the war, (against heresy or the Turk?) he promises all the subsidy in his power. The bishop Sancti Populi was to *explain, by word of mouth, everything else* *.

Who, after all this, can wonder at, or who can abstain from approving, the severe statute which the parliament of the 13th of Elizabeth thought itself called upon to enact against the reception, not only of bulls, but of all those accompaniments from Rome—absolutions, crosses, beads, immunities, exemptions, and more especially the newly invented instruments of spiritual incantation, the Agnus Deus †, figures of the crucified Saviour

* Goubau, lib. v. ep. x. The whole letter, however, is so interesting, that it shall appear in the APPENDIX. It discovers, as strongly as a very confidential communication would do, the active and vigorous interference of the pope in the English plot.

† Statutes at large. Sir F. Walsingham wrote a very sensible and satisfactory letter to M. Critoy, concerning the queen's proceedings against both papists and puritans, in which the expression given above

impressed on wax, to be worn on the person, and which Sir Francis Walsingham justly designated, as 'love-tokens, to enchant and 'bewitch the people's affections'—the expedients of a profligate seducer for the ruin of his intended victim? If the bishop of Rome can prostitute his person and dignity to such measures, he and his partisans have no right to complain of the necessary antagonist measures.

As our undertaking is not history, but biography, we leave the one when it ceases to be a handmaid to the other. But England can never recur to these transactions without an honest indignation against the traitors, whoever they be, who dare to vilify and condemn the conduct of our Protestant queen and her government—a queen and a government which, from the era of the deposing and anathematizing constitution, never ceased to be in imminent danger of absolute destruction from the machinations of papal sovereigns, especially their head, and the instruments which they had at command*.

occurs. The letter is in a tract, entitled, *Reflections upon the New Test and Reply thereto*, &c.

* For a just representation of the character and conduct of queen Elizabeth and her government, I refer with much satisfaction to the elaborate biography of her most eminent minister, Lord Burghley, by

In Poland heresy was making a sad progress. At Peotrkow decrees were published

Dr. Nares; although in the last volume, as regards the reciprocal behaviour of the reigning, and captive, queens, I cannot suppress the opinion, that he has shewn too much complaisance to the fashionable and unprincipled principle of merging all consideration of the *moral nature and quality of the cause*, which may be the subject of contest—a principle which, in its legitimate consequences, equalizes, at one stroke, every species of vice and virtue, and, without a fiction, assumes the prerogative hitherto claimed for infallibility alone, of making virtues to be vices, and vices virtues, at pleasure.

I am sorry to observe how much the spirit of sectarian bigotry has led Daniel Neal, in his History of the Puritans, to disparage and calumniate the character of the British queen. That she was not without her faults, herself would acknowledge, and has acknowledged. But that she was not a sincere friend and patron of the Reformation, or that she had a secret predilection for popery, is a stigma which none who prefer truth to their private interests, would ever have hazarded to fix upon her memory. That many, but not the most conspicuous and active, of the Puritans, were men of an excellent spirit, I would be the last to deny or suppress. But that even in them there was not an alloy of worldly consideration, it would be hardihood in even their most intrepid advocates to affirm. For the rest, of all the intolerant termagants which abused religion has ever produced, some of the leaders of the puritanic profession stand in the foremost rank; and nothing but the arts, which the historian shares with papal writers, addition, omission, union, disjunction, and various other modes of misrepresentation, could ever have laid upon them the colours which render them so brilliant, at the expense of their opponents, and of truth too, in the pages of Mr. Neal. A concern for the reception of his narrative would induce him to make occasional admissions of faults on his own side; but these are uniformly palliated, and those of their opponents as uniformly and disingenuously aggravated. Dr. Toulmin, the last real editor, has smothered the criticisms of Madox and Grey, and evaded everything like a fair conclusion—and with good reason, if he wished to maintain the credit of his original; for nothing but an illiberal and arbitrary prejudice in favour of everything which is dissension, could refuse the award of victory to many of the most important strictures of the first critic in particular.

against *ecclesiastic liberty*. The phrase is remarkable, as well as common. From the

Upon the whole, no impartial judge will deny, that for real liberality in the relation of the facts in question, the laurels of Neal fade before those of Fuller. No one who looks for truth will trust the historian of the Puritans alone, from one sentence to another. He who will impartially examine facts, will find cause to conclude, that the Church of England, in the time of Elizabeth, was far more tolerant, both in her spirit and in her acts, than the puritanic opposition discovered itself to be, as far as it had the power *then* of discovering itself. Their civil and religious liberty then, and afterwards more effectually, was, to enslave, to persecute, and to destroy the church. And the civil and religious liberty of themselves, and their good papal friends, whom they rarely opposed in earnest but when through their sides they could wound their old enemy, is still the same—still equally earthly and interested.

The servile addresses of various bodies of dissenters to James II. on his proclamation for liberty of conscience, after he must have been known, amounting to *seventy-three*, as enumerated, and some of them copied, from the gazettes of the time, by Grey, in his last volume, have found an adequate counterpart only in the late petitions in favour of papal education in Ireland by the three denominations and others.

There is an admirable letter, deprecating such sacrifice of Protestantism to sectarianism, from Sir Patrick Hume, afterwards Earl of Marchmont, himself a *dissenter*, 'to the Presbyterian Ministers in Scotland,' &c., in the valuable collection of Marchmont Papers just edited by Sir George Rose, vol. iii. p. 72, and following. I should not, perhaps, have made any reference to the inaction of the dissenting body, in the great controversy with popery, at the latter part more especially of the papalized James's reign, had not the unworthy attempt been made to cast the blame upon the licensers of the press—an attempt which was victoriously defeated and turned upon the assailant, to his greater confusion, by the Rev. Samuel Wesley, father to him who has given the name so much celebrity, in his Reply to Mr. Palmer's Vindication of the Learning, &c. of the Dissenters, 1707. There are copies of letters and decisive extracts from the work at the end of Dr. Grey's Examination of the Second Volume of Mr. Neal's history.

Nothing but a very undue deference to Neal could have induced impartial persons to speak so degradingly of the queen of England as some

mouth, or pen, of a papalist it uniformly signifies, liberty to the church of Rome to do in

respectable dissenters have done. I am therefore disposed to refer to the unbigoted Strype, (an author whom Neal has *selected*, very unfairly,) for an account given by him of the queen, when recovering from a dangerous illness. 'Together with her bodily distemper,' he writes, 'she was under great conflicts and terrors of mind for her sins; apprehensive that she had not been sufficiently sensible of God's singular mercies and favours expressed towards her, and was too much elated with her prosperity, not performing her duty to God so much as she should and ought to have done,' &c. 'This may be collected,' he adds, 'from a prayer composed for her when she began to amend,' &c. This and a Thanksgiving, appears in the APPENDIX. In the former occurs the passage, 'A person upon whom, even from her infancy, thou hast bestowed great and innumerable benefits, and hast set her high in honour and estate in this world; and that of thine especial grace and goodness only, without any of her deserving at all. But now, O Lord, either to the end, that such worldly prosperity should not make her to forget herself or her duty towards thee; or else, for that she, being by thy goodness made a prince over this people, hath not indeed, so well as she ought to have done, remembered and acknowledged that she was thy subject and handmaiden, neither hath according to her bounden duty been thankful to thee, her most loving and beneficial Saviour, nor obedient to thee, as her most gracious and sovereign Lord, or for other causes to Thy Divine Majesty best known; Thou hast now of late,' &c. . . . 'Heal her soul by pardoning her unthankfulness towards thee, in her forgetfulness of thee; and all her other sins committed against thee.

'Cure her mind by framing it to the obedience of thy will, Faith, patient taking, and quiet acceptation of this sickness sent by thee to her just punishment,' &c.

In the Thanksgiving for delivering 'thy servant our most gracious queen from her extreme danger of death,' it is immediately added, 'which she, and we have deserved for our sins; and whereunto of thy justice and power she hath been brought, in token, if thou so likedst, thou couldst justly have suffered her to die in the same: we most heartily thank thee,' &c.—Annals, ch. li. and Appendix.

There can be no doubt that these forms were directly appointed by

all things as she pleases, and to abridge or destroy the liberty of all others, persons or corporations, as may be for her supposed interest *. To heal the wound already made, and to ward future strokes of the same character, the supreme guardian of the faith and privileges of the church sent to court, as apostolic internuncio, Giulio Ruggieri, to instruct the king, that contempt of religion was frequently visited by severe punishment, and that the ruin of kingdoms generally followed changes in the faith—meaning, of Rome. Giulio likewise had it in charge, to promote the reception of the Council of Trent. The pope seconded his instructions by a letter to Sigismund, written with his own hand, January 20, 1569 ; the effect of which was, that the nuncio obtained increased confidence, and suggested that all offices of trust should be taken out of the hands of the heretics, and put into those of Catholics. He had likewise some prospect of getting renewed the pay-

the queen ; and, with many other, we may venture to say, the main body, of her acts, they do at least imply, that she was possessed of some *personal religion*. Our brethren, who, with all their pretensions to harmony, derive their distinguishing and most boastful title from *dissent*, ought not to force upon us such acts of justice. If we are to doubt every profession and appearance, there is an end of all human confidence.

* The Gallican church, by her celebrated *Liberties*, paid the Roman church in her own coin, with which the latter was not much pleased.

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ment of Peter-pence, which had been discontinued since 1530 ; but there he could not prevail. There is a considerable number of papal letters in Goubau's collection, addressed to the king ; but they are most of them very formal and uninteresting. One, however, dated in December, 1570, must be excepted, where the pope exhorts the king to revoke his extorted permission of the Augsburg Confession, to whose heresy he allows only the character of a milder poison. 'The Catholic faith,' he adds, 'is one, deduced from the apostolic age, through a long series of Roman pontiffs, to our own pontificate, and our own times : from which *whoever withdraws in one point is guilty of all* *.' Three colleges of Jesuits were consequently established in Poland ; and the king became intolerant to the Protestants and obedient to the church.

The affairs of Prussia were not so favourable. The son of the first duke, who assumed the dominion of that country, was a sacramentarian heretic—the epithet is remarkable, as if it were culpable to think and speak of a sacrament, as a sacrament ! The revenues of the church were seized, we are told, by this heretic, and converted to his

* Goubau, lib. iv. ep. 43.

own use; and the Lutheran pest took the place of Catholic truth. A band, however, of the sons of St. Dominic, with ample powers and as much zeal, were thrown into the distressed country; and benefits were the result, for which, exults our last biographer, who lived under Paul V., a tolerable imitator of Pius V., the inhabitants were grateful to his very time.

The republic of Venice is extolled, as the ornament and liberty of Italy. The church there required some reform, and Pius effected it in all the different ecclesiastic orders. He gained his point for Roman, against Venetian liberty, by obtaining, in the instance of a heretic whom we have already noticed, Guido Zannetti, that his cause should be finally determined at Rome. He likewise assumed to be judge in the differences between that state and the duke of Ferrara. These facts are of little importance, except as illustrating the indomitable ambition of the Roman bishop.

The same officious and encroaching interference is observable in the *protection* which he afforded to the rights of the church of Milan against the civil power. The principal ecclesiastic lictor had been found bearing prohibited arms, and was imprisoned.

Charles Borromeo, the archbishop, excommunicated the authors: Pius cited the president of the Senate and others to Rome. The procurators of the sovereign, however, the king of Spain, prevented the pope; and although his holiness declared himself ready to shed his blood in the cause of *ecclesiastic liberty*, the affair was compromised.

Except as an additional specimen of pontifical arrogance, it would be of supremely little importance to detail the circumstances with which the pope conferred upon Cosimo de' Medici, duke of Florence, the title of grand duke of Tuscany. The emperor disputed the right with him; and his ambassador at Rome humbly protested, that Cosimo was not *his* vassal, but the emperor's. 'By what authority,' answered the pontiff, 'are emperors made, and so called, but by the apostolic see?' It was not likely that such a man would yield to anything but superior force. Catena, the humble creature of no very unassuming pope, has advocated the claims of Pius and the papacy, with considerable alacrity, and even occupied a whole section of his biography with *examples of the apostolic authority over temporal states*. Among the rest, it is not forgotten, that the kingdom

of Ireland was given by Adrian (IV.) to the king of England. The other biographers have been prudent enough to omit this rather offensive and delicate topic.

At this point of his story Catena introduces a quantity of miscellaneous matter, part of which has been anticipated, and the rest about correction of municipal and other abuses, and regulations, or encouragements respecting mechanical arts and agriculture, together with the erection of public buildings*, is of interest only to a certain class of readers, and has little connexion with the vocation, or avocations, of an occupant of the papal chair. The information, however, is in some degree appropriate, that Pius, in testimony of his high admiration of St. Thomas of Aquino, commonly called Aquinas, ordained his festival to be celebrated in the kingdom of Naples; in other parts of the Christian

* Of the public buildings of Pius we must exempt from the charge of insignificance a palace, projected by a predecessor, but erected by himself, for the ministers of the holy Inquisition, and which Venuti supposes to be alluded to and commemorated in the medal of this pontiff, bearing on the reverse the inscription, CONTRIBULASTI . CAPITA . DRACONIS. He refers to Gabutius's Life, lib. vi. cap. v.; and adds, apparently on his own authority, but a necessary, and the most important, appendage to such a building, '*a dungeon for the safer custody of the guilty.*' And he was not likely to calumniate his own church. Numism. Rom. Pont., &c. Romæ, 1744, p. 128.

world as one of the four great doctors of the church; and gave an indulgence of seven years and as many quarantines to whosoever should visit his altar placed in St. Dominic's in Naples, where his doctrine was audibly approved by the mouth of a crucifix*. The seventh of March is the day dedicated to this saint. The story just referred to appears in the Fifth Lectio in the Breviary—*Neapoli cum ad imaginem crucifixi vehementius oraret, hanc vocem audivit: Bene scripsisti de me, Thoma, quam ergo mercedem accipies?* The first prayer in the service is for an understanding to comprehend what he taught—*quæ docuit intellectu conspiciere*. It is not every doctrine, even of the angelic doctor, by which those who are compelled, with whatever sincerity, thus to pray, will be content to abide. Fuenmayor supplies us with some additional, and not uninteresting information upon this subject. He laments that many of the writings of this great man still remained buried in obscurity, much to the joy of the enemies of the truth, no one venturing to print them. Pius, not better affected to his learning than his sanctity, gave twenty-five thousand ducats for that

* Catena, pp. 141, 2.

purpose; and, it is added, at the same time brought to light the works of St. Buonaventura *—not printed; for that was not done till Sixtus V. undertook the task, which was completed by his third successor. The doctrine of the seraphic doctor is not quite so innocent of shameless idolatry as that of the angelic †.

There is another subject to which all the three biographers advert, the Spanish one, (and we shall therefore adopt his account,) most largely; and it is a subject of some interest. ‘When the pontiffs,’ he writes, ‘made their processions from St. Peter’s to

* Fol. 38, verso.

† I refer in particular to the *Psalterium B. Virginis*, which passes under the name of this author, and which, throughout, is a blasphemous accommodation of the Psalter to the Virgin. Early editions of this work are not uncommon. I have two; the first at Leipsic, 1516. Wadding, in his *Script. Ord. Min.*, in two distinct catalogues ascribes the work to Bonaventura without any hesitation. Sixtus V. ordered an edition of his works, completed under a successor, in the sixth volume of which occurs the *Psalterium*. In short, should we admit, with Chemnitz, *Exam. Conc. Trid.* 827, last edition, that there are passages in other parts of the saint’s works warring with the doctrine of this book, although authors may alter their opinions, or be inconsistent with themselves, the church—the church of Rome—can never shift from her shoulders the responsibility of the book, and all its gross, revolting idolatry—she has identified her own doctrine with it; and her sons must bear the burden as well as they can. But let them remember, that they will likewise have to dispose of—Bernadinus de Bustis, Bernard, Albertus Magnus, Bona, Crasset, Barry,—to say nothing of the Sacred Heart of Mary, her Offices, Rosary, &c.

‘ St. John’s de Lateran, on account of the
‘ ruins of the amphitheatre which obstructed
‘ the way, they turned aside into a less en-
‘ cumbered street. This, and a statue of a
‘ woman in labour situated in the passage,
‘ gave occasion to the fable of pope Joan of
‘ England, a woman, not so much a fable, as
‘ a prophecy of what we now see in that
‘ kingdom, a woman daring to usurp autho-
‘ rity in religion, and the name of head of
‘ the church. The common people then said,
‘ that, for the purpose of expressing their
‘ abomination of the accident, they forbore to
‘ pass by the way, where she died in child-
‘ birth as a divine judgment. Pius, in order
‘ to disabuse the vulgar, by removing the
‘ statue, and clearing the passage, removed,
‘ if not the opinion, yet the cause of it*.’ The
juvenile zeal and imagination of the writer
(for he was young) is embarrassed by the
choice between the fable, with the conse-
quent exoneration of his church, on the one
hand, and the prophecy, implying the truth
of the incident, with a malevolent reflexion
upon the queen of England, on the other.
Our Spanish zealot might have disabused
himself from the latter part of his charge, if

* Fol. 39, recto.

he had known, (and he was inexcusable not to know,) the disclaimer which the queen publicly made in her injunctions, published in the first year of her reign, where she limited the authority claimed by her to that which her predecessors, and every temporal sovereign claim within their own dominions*.

This is not the place for entering into the fabulous or real origin of the story, that a woman, daughter of an Englishman, actually ascended the pontifical throne, and reigned for more than two years. But, for the substantial truth of a fact, far less disgraceful

* On this subject let an ingenuous Romanist be heard. Dr. O'Connor, in his Historical Address, part ii. pp. 276, 7, writes concerning the assumption of supremacy: 'in the first of Elizabeth in England, and in her second in Ireland, the title of "*Head of the Church*," which gave offence to the Catholics, was omitted, and that of "*Only supreme Governor of this realm*," was substituted in its stead. This last is the only title which our kings have ever since assumed; and it is a mark of vile dishonesty on the part of our foreign-influenced writers, that they represent the title of *Head of the Church* as still used in the diplomatic language of our kings. But they are shamefully lost to every sense of decorum in this respect; insensible of the sacredness of truth; in many instances, absolute strangers, and, in others, affectedly ignorant of the laws and constitution of their country.

'Queen Elizabeth herself declared, by solemn *Injunctions* to all her subjects, that she pretended to no authority over the church, but what was, of *antient times*, due to the imperial crown of England; and she allowed every one to take the oath *subject to this explanation*. The same sense was put upon it by all the clergy of England assembled in Convocation, in the thirty-seventh Article of Religion agreed to by them in 1562.'

than many other acknowledged ones in the papacy, notwithstanding the puerile boast of chronological demonstration by a Jesuit, and the easy faith in papal chronological fabrications, for the specific purpose *, by a Protestant, no one who has carefully read the Disquisition of Frederic Spanheim, or the modification, and in some respects improvement of the argument by L'Enfant in French, can for an hour doubt, that there is as much evidence in favour of the story, as is to be found in the greater part of the facts admitted as legitimate portions of history. There is not an objection to the narrative, which is not capable of a perfectly satisfactory solution ;

* There cannot be a more puerile or profligate attempt at imposition than to found anything in the shape of a probable inference, much less demonstration, upon the utterly chaotic and self-conflicting chronology of the disgraceful period of pontifical history during the whole of the ninth century, and particularly the middle of it, when the popes are recorded to have ruled the church. Should any considerable devastation of literature take place, and fragments only of the English history descend to posterity, it might be inferred, with a chronological demonstration which might satisfy the rigid logic of even a member of the Ecclesiastical Knowledge Society, that since it appeared, that Charles I. died in 1648, and the year 1660 was, even in some remaining Acts of Parliament, and other public documents, reckoned the twelfth year of the reign of his son and successor, and so onward, there was no room for such an individual as Protector Cromwell, and that, for the future, the convicted fable of his reign, and even existence, might be sent *in æquum*. The substantial ground of pretermission in both cases was the same. *Nec ideo ponitur in catalogo sanctorum Pontificum, tam propter muliebris sexus, quam propter deformitatem facti.* Mart. Polon., p. 319.

and with all the tampering and corruptions*, which have evidently been on one side only, upwards of one hundred good Catholic witnesses appear in attestation of an incident, which it was more creditable to record with abhorrence, than to deny with manifest contempt at least of probable evidence. None but a servile bigot, like Leo Allatius, a true Greek, could ascribe the report to heretical fiction.

It deserves to be recorded, to the honour of Pius's first thoughts, and the disgrace of his second, that cardinal Bellarmino was engaged by him to superintend the printing of an authentic and faithful edition of the New Testament in Greek. Preparations were made for the accomplishment of the undertaking; but the pope changed his mind—he saw how much more service it would do to the heretics than to his own church—and it fell to the ground †. There is not, I believe, a single edition to the present day of the originals, either of the old, or the new covenant scrip-

* The knavery of the Jesuitic editors of the first edition of Anastasius, in the case of the two MSS. sent to them from the Palatinate, is notorious. It is remarkable, that Blondel's letter to his brother on this subject in the French, his own, edition is omitted in the Latin posthumous one.

† Vita del C. Bellarmino, dal Pad. D. Bartoli, Roma, 1678, p. 388.

tures, in their own languages, Hebrew and Greek, printed in the city, which boasts to be the mother and mistress of all churches. The shepherd of the seven hills has taken care that his flock shall feed in no other pasture than its own—the authentic Vulgate *.

* The *lucifugæ scripturarum* of Rome are almost equally afraid of originals and translations. In fact, they do not know what to do with the scriptures. They fear them, distrust them, fetter them in every possible way, and, to the utmost of their power, keep them out of the hands of the laity. And yet they are ashamed of their conduct; and when driven by their own acknowledgment to the permission of translations into vulgar tongues, as the least of two evils, yet an evil, since otherwise heretical translations would get into the hands of their subjects, they defeat the true understanding of them, as far as possible, by false translation, by notes, by indexes on the points of controversy, or rather, points of their own heresy. Witness that grossest of all impositions, the Bourdeaux Testament of 1686; and some others are not much better. Let any one of common sense and candour look at the Fourth of the Rules of the Tridentine Index, made stricter by Clement VIII., in the explanation of it; and say what encouragement or toleration is given to the perusal of scripture. It will be useless to refer to the Italian translation of Martini, allowed by one pope, but condemned by a successor, Pius VII., in 1820. In a word, reflect upon the predicament of scripture in the Roman church, although allowed and read to the utmost extent. The present supreme law of that church, the Council of Trent, had decreed that the authority of scripture and tradition are equal: but scripture must be *interpreted* by the church, that is, by herself, or by what is perfectly tantamount to tradition. So, by a circuit indeed, but a short one, scripture is laid at the foot of tradition. And, in fact, this is the theory reduced to practice. The wary church will not commit herself by any really authorized translation; she can slip away from any of them: but there is every semblance of authority, such indeed as must impose upon all but the uninitiated, who enjoy the secret among themselves. Let any person open an English Douay Testament, and peruse the *imposing—imposing* in two senses—approba-

It was perhaps more to the credit of the reigning pontiff, that he gave charge to his master of the Sacred Palace, T. Manrique, to prepare a reformed edition of the Canon Law. And the task was performed with some real integrity—indeed too much for Rome; for in the reign of his successor, (he himself escaped the disgrace,) the proposed improvements were generally rejected, and the Decretals re-edited with the greater portion of their original corruption*. The pontifical code, therefore, has suffered the same fate as the pontifical breviary, which rejected

tions of colleges, doctors, and vicars apostolic. The children of the step-dame of Rome ask for bread, and she gives them a stone. It is mournful to see a man, like archbishop Fenelon, as if he were a galley-slave in St. Peter's bark, obliged to recommend his orthodoxy by an elaborate condemnation of the unrestricted perusal of those scriptures which were written to make men wise unto salvation. And the precious letter has been translated into the vulgar tongues of Italy and England, as a more effectual security against the poison of divine truth. It is no less mournful to see a British Cabinet united with, or succumbing to, the church of Rome in this anti-scriptural enterprise. I wish a work by the Rev. James Serces, *Popery an Enemy to Scripture*, giving an account of the Papal translations, particularly the French, printed in London, 1736, were better known. Fortunately there are five of the Bourdeaux Testaments in England. It is common with Papists to disown it; this gives them at least a chance, which they always value.

* *Censura in Glossas et Additiones Juris Canonici, &c. Colonis, 1572. Cum gratia et privilegio, fol. 57, 12mo.* John Pappus, a theologian of Strasburg, published a *Collatio* of the *Censuræ* with the actual edition of Gregory XIII., exhibiting their discrepancies. It is appended to his *Index Expurg.* Argent., 1609.

the real purification of an able and well-meaning cardinal. There is that in the constitution of Rome which shrinks from everything medicinal, or sanative.

It would have been desirable to give somewhat of a particular account of the college of Douay, that prolific nursery and hotbed of idolatry and rebellion, as far as Pius, under whose pontificate it was established, was concerned. But papal writers, unless where they are secure of no eyes but those of their own communion, are eminently careful of not being over-communicative. Charles Dodd, near the beginning of the second volume of his *Church History of England*, informs us, that the Romanists who lived in exile were occupied with contrivances how they might perpetuate their succession, as the original Marian priests disappeared. William Allen, in 1568, persuaded several learned men of Oxford and Cambridge to unite in a body for that purpose. They selected the university of Douay for the place of their residence; and Morgan Philips, formerly Allen's tutor, and provost of Oriel college, began a subscription for purchasing a house, which, with other help, gave them a subsistence. Several well-known characters resorted to this institution,

and their numbers soon amounted to one hundred and fifty. The president, Allen, was advised to apply to the bishop of Rome for a further supply. His undertaking had already been applauded by the holy see; and Pius V., by a kind letter to Dr. Allen, encouraged him to proceed. All that follows belongs to the successors of that pope, who, although less sanguine and sanguinary than our Pius, could not, unless they turned their back upon all the principles of their church, forbear to give every practicable assistance to a society which was so zealously devoted to the maintenance and advancement of their own superstition. It would have been a historical acquisition to have been able to examine Pius's letter. It would probably have had some national interest. The hopes of re-establishment in this country were fast decaying, and excommunications and rebellions were beginning to be the only remaining dependence. The desperate and almost ferocious self-devotion of the members of this society, as recorded by a partisan, would be entitled to indulgent interpretation, if not a qualified admiration, were it not instantly recollected, that the object for which the contemplated sacrifice was pledged, was to rivet afresh on the

emancipated population of Britain, the chains of pontifical domination, of a loathsome and destructive idolatry, and of an abject surrender and repudiation of the word of God in an intelligible tongue. This consideration, which determines the entire merits of the case, gives to the zeal of these despisers of their own lives, and therefore masters of the lives of others, the same character which belongs to that of the insane devotee of Hindostan, who, with more innocence, because with no injury to others, hastens to place his body under the wheels of the car of Juggernaut*.

During the pontificate under review, there were three national synods celebrated—the

* *Alanus* in primis auctor fuit ut in unum collatis doctorum hominum studiis, ii qui in eo genere erant proveci, editis de Religione quæstionibus Schisma convellerent, tum ætate atque scientia minores alios in eandem palæstram colligerent, informarent, animarent, non ad fidem eminus tantum jactis sanioris doctrinæ telis propugnandam, sed ut cominus etiam in arenam descenderent in Patriam reduces, vitâ sanguine, si res ita ferret, ad avitos mores conservandos ritu Apostolico decertaturi.—Hæreticis simul metum injicerent, et acuerent furorem; videbant enim hi, frustra jam carceribus, exilio, facultatum depredatione, calumniis denique atque minis agi, ut Sacerdotum veterani eliminarentur, quando aliis atque aliis succrescentibus, nova seges emergeret, novæque copis, quibus quicquid ardui atque difficilis ostentari posset in optatis erat, &c.—*Mori Hist. Miss. Ang. Soc. Jesu, &c., Andomari, (St. Omer,) 1660, p. 38.* Had these missionaries prevailed, one of the first, and most certain, benefits would have been, the establishment of a complete Spanish tribunal of the Inquisition. Its virtues had been tried; and no truly papalized heart would have shrunk from its barbarity. Popery knows mercy only to immolate it at the shrine of her superstition.

first, at Naples, under cardinal Alfonso Carraffa; the second, more nearly connected with Rome, at Milan, where St. Carlo Borromeo presided, and which passed various decrees, 1. Respecting doctrine, the administration of the sacraments and the pastoral duties : 2. Respecting the mass, and divine offices : 3. Respecting the property and rights of churches and holy places : 4. Respecting nuns ; the last at Malines, or Mechlin, concerning faith, the sacraments, and divers points of doctrine. Of these an account may be seen in the Collection of Councils, by Labbè.

CHAPTER VI.

League against the Turk—Victory over the Turkish fleet in the Ionian sea—Pius's addresses to the different Powers—France—Marriage with the king of Navarre—Camillo Capilupi's *Stratagema*—Alessandrino's legation—Satisfied of the French king's intention—Pius's letter to Charles concerning the marriage—Four royal letters indicative of the intention of the court—Progress of the system of treachery—Direction to the event of the St. Bartholomew massacre—Its accomplishment—*Monumens Inédits*—*Histoire des Massacres*, and *Diverses Lettres*—The intelligence how received at Rome—Medal of Gregory XIII.—French medals.

WE are now arrived at an important era of the reign of Pius, and an event mainly of a martial description, in which his biographers expatiate with considerable detail, and as manifest triumph,—the accomplishment of a general league against the aggressions of the Turkish power, and its victorious results.

In the spring of the year 1570, Selim II., sultan, regardless of the solemn treaty of peace made by his father with the Venetians, demanded, by Cubat, his chiaus, or legate, the possession of the island of Cyprus, and prepared to seize it. In this difficulty the senate applied to the pope. The pope, who felt the cause to be a general one, and eminently personal to himself and his dominion, entered warmly into it, and proposed a league

of the Christian powers. He proceeded immediately to the work, and prevailed upon the king of Spain to furnish a considerable naval force, under the command of John Andrea Doria, who was to be subject to his own commander, or general of the church, Marcantonio Colonna, duke of Paliano. This arrangement produced, as might be expected, disagreements, which, for the future, were obviated by appointing Don John of Austria generalissimo of the league. The duke of Savoy was made general by land; and Colonna assumed the subordinate rank of lieutenant-general of the league. The pontiff is represented as placing great confidence in the efficacy of his own prayers; and a long and animated speech, made by him, and which is recorded, to the assembled deputies and ambassadors at Rome, is said to have produced a strong impression. The league itself was published on the 20th of May, 1571; and the conditions of it, amounting to twenty-four articles, are given at length. His holiness was not backward in contributions of his own, or at least those of the church. He laid an impost on the clergy; he granted a Cruzada to Spain; he sold the Camerlengato for 70,000 crowns; he laid the monas-

teries under contribution ; and finally granted six decime on ecclesiastical property. In order that the zeal excited in this righteous cause might not cool, and its exertions languish, the pontiff appointed his own nephew, by his sister, Michele Bonelli dal Bosco, whom he had made cardinal, with the title which himself had just exchanged, Alessandrino, soon after his elevation to the pontificate*, legate a latere, and sent him principally, but not exclusively, for the purpose of promoting the league, first to the king of Spain, then to the king of Portugal, Sebastian XVI., who, it should seem, had not before entered into the league ; uniting with the main object another, of no little value with the pope, who dreaded the threatened marriage of Margaret of France with the heretical king of Navarre, a recommendation to the Portuguese king to defeat that project by offering an alliance with the French princess himself. But of this more in a future

* Pius made three promotions in the sacred college, and twenty-one cardinals in all. In the first, which took place March 6th, 1566, his nephew stands single. The second promotion was March 24th, 1568, when four cardinals were created. The third was May 17th, 1570, and sixteen individuals were advanced to the purple, among whom the most remarkable was Fr. Felice Peretti, with the title of Montalto, afterwards Sixtus V., author of the first draft of the Damnatory Bull against Queen Elizabeth, and a vigorous pontiff.

place. . . Alessandrino then proceeded to France, where these two rather incongruous objects were likewise pursued. And here an occurrence relating to the latter will call for separate and careful review. Commendone was sent as legate, to a well known station, Germany, upon the same errand. Monsignori, Salviati, and Odescalco, were charged to excite the energies of the princes of Italy; and his holiness is said to have expressed a wish to go himself in person to the war. Poland was invited by the nuncio, Monsignor Portico, to give assistance to the grand duke of Muscovy, whose territories were peculiarly exposed to invasion from the common enemy. The combined fleet assembled at Messina, in Sicily, and set sail, September 16th. On the 7th of October they came within sight of the Turkish fleet, near Cefalonia, and prepared for an engagement. A plenary indulgence was immediately published; and the commander-in-chief, John of Austria, assured the combatants of happiness, whether they survived or fell in the contest—those who escaped, from the felicity of their lot, and those who died, because they had ‘placed their souls in Paradise by the grace of indulgence; nor could they doubt of victory

‘with such an intercessor as Pius*.’ The battle took place in the Ionian sea, near the Echinades, then called Curzolari, when, in the space of five hours, a decisive victory was obtained over the most formidable fleet which had ever before proceeded from Constantinople. Public rejoicings and honours of all sorts were the consequence of this splendid achievement, which was ascribed in a great degree, if not principally, to the prayers of the Roman pontiff, the sanctimonious Pius. Doubtless, if from other causes, and they could not be wanting, it pleased the Divine Providence to arrest the progress and desolations of so fierce an enemy, as the Turk, to the Christian name and religion, *that* intention would not be frustrated, or even disturbed, by the direction of the prayers of even a persecutor of real Christianity like Pius, to the same end. The very prayer, which is an abomination, is often apparently answered by the identity of an event which far different causes have produced.

It is astonishing, even although easily accountable for, with what detail and parade this victory is set forth by the biographers of

* — i morti per haver collocate l'anime loro in Paradiso per gratia dell' Indulgenza, &c.—Catena, 214.

Pius, particularly the first, who, at the end of his work, has given a particular catalogue of the ships and commanders on each side, and further embellished it with a magnificent plate from 'a picture in the Royal Hall of the Vatican, in which the battle is represented to the life, with Christ, St. Peter, and St. Paul, and many angels in the air, having arms in their hands, menacing the Turks, chasing away demons, and thus favouring the Christians *.'

Pius did not suffer the victory to go unimproved, but wrote and sent to all the potentates of the world, as well schismatic and infidel as Christian, to stir them up to the utter extirpation of the Turkish nation. Many of the letters are found in the last book of Goubau's Collection; and we wish all were as unexceptionable. It is rather amusing to observe the names of Shiek Tahamaso, king of Persia, Seriph Mutahar, king of Arabia Felix, Menna, king of Ethiopia, vulgarly called Préster John, among the sovereigns, whom his holiness felt himself called upon to address and stimulate, upon this joyful occasion †.

* Catena, 228. This plate is given in the last splendid edition of Ciaconio's *Lives of the Popes and Cardinals in the Life of Pius V.*

† Queen Elizabeth ordered public thanksgivings for the victory;

We now piece on a portion of the pontifical history, which we had interrupted; and France is the platform. Although the marriage of the king's sister with the king of Navarre was an essential incident in the drama of treachery, by which the religion was to be entrapped and finally crushed, the pontiff, who was as much deceived as those whom he hated, was horror-struck at the prospect of its accomplishment. He therefore, as we have seen, used his best influence, by the persuasion of his nephew, to induce the king of Portugal to defeat the project by making an offer to the princess himself. The king was not disinclined to the union, as appears by a letter of his to the pope, although he does not commit himself*.

The legate, with what encouragement he had from Sebastian, made all possible haste to the court of France, and anticipated the mother of the king of Navarre, who was proceeding thither herself. In his interview with Charles, the king informed him, that he could not break off the matrimonial engage-

* Whereby,' adds Strype, 'she might also, taking this occasion, wipe off 'those slanderous popish aspersions cast upon her, as though she held 'friendship and correspondence with infidels.' *Annals of the Reformation under Queen Elizabeth*, book i. ch. ii. vol. ii. p. 105, ed. 1725.

* Goubau, lib. v. ep. 5. The letter is a long one; the portion relative to the proposed marriage begins at p. 410.

ment with honour ; but that the legate might assure his holiness the pope, that all was done with the best intention, and for the service and aggrandisement of the Catholic religion, *as would be known by its effects* ; and taking from his finger a very valuable ring he offered it to the legate, saying, that he should receive it as a pledge of the assurance he gave him of his indefectible obedience to the apostolic see, and that he would ever remain its affectionate and obedient son. The legate declined the present, adding, that the word of such a king was sufficient, and exhorting him to act according to his professions. This is a faithful representation—in all the essential parts a literal translation—of a work, the authenticity of which is placed beyond all reasonable suspicion. It is a production of Camillo Capilupi, written in Rome, soon after the news had reached that city of the massacre at Paris on St. Bartholomew's day, and addressed to his brother, in a Dedication dated October 22, 1572. I have before me the edition in 1574, to which is subjoined a French translation, with an avertissement, affirming, that copies of it were common in Rome, until the cardinal of Lorraine, who at first approved it, understanding that varying

representations were given of the event in France, hindered the impression from proceeding. The title of the work is, *Lo Strategema di Carolo IX., Re di Fràcia contro gli Ugonotti rebelli di Dio & suoi : Descritto dal Signor Camillo Capilupi ; & mandato di Roma al Signor Alfonso Capilupi*. His account proceeds to say, that the great difficulty of a dispensation from the hostile pope, whose terrible nature (*natura terribile*) the king knew, was *opportunately* removed by the deaths both of the queen of Navarre, and of Pius, than whom, the author adds, there never was a more severe avenger, and ardent persecutor of heretics*. Catena adds, adopt-

* Pages 9—12. The Letters of Cardinal d'Ossat, ambassador of Henry IV. at Rome, have placed the substance of this important fact beyond the reach of all reasonable doubt. I am indebted for the first reference to the particular passage, to Dr. Allen's triumphant Reply to Dr. Lingard's Vindication (namely, of his representation of the St. Bartholomew Massacre, as *unpremeditated*), second edition, 1827. This pamphlet is a complete death-blow to the credit of Dr. Lingard, as a historian, wherever the interest of his church is concerned. At page 38, we are informed, that when the case of the desired divorce of Margaret from her husband was discussed at Rome, on the plea that the marriage was compulsory, the then pope, Clement VIII., came forward as an unexpected witness, declaring, that when cardinal Alessandrino endeavoured to prevent the match, Charles answered his objections by saying, 'You are in the right. I acknowledge it, and am obliged to you and to the pope for what you have said ; and if I had any other means of taking vengeance on my enemies, I would never consent to this marriage ; but I can find no other way.' The cardinal returned to Italy ;

ing the whole relation, as does Gabutius after him, (to say nothing of the Protestant testimonies, the *Mémoires d'Estat*, and the *Commentarii de Statu, &c.*,) after mentioning the legate's refusal of the ring, that nevertheless the king after the death of Pius sent him the ring in Rome, upon which was engraven these words : *NON . MINUS . HEC . SOLIDA . EST . PIETAS . NE . PIETAS . POSSIT . MEA . SANGUINE . SOLVI . ** There is a letter of Pius upon this mysterious subject in the Collection which so eminently assists us ; and it deserves the reader's attention. It has the peculiarity of being the last but one in that Collection from the papal pen. The date is January 25, in the *seventh* year of the pontificate ; the year of the Christian era is not mentioned, but it must be 1572. Catena varies as to the day ; for in his translation it is dated February 6,—neither pontificate nor year are added. The letter is addressed to Charles of France. His holiness begins with

and when the news of the St. Bartholomew arrived at Rome, he exclaimed in a transport of joy, ' Praise be to God, the king of France ' has kept his word with me.' This conversation was repeated at the time by cardinal Alessandrino to pope Clement, who was then his auditor, and had accompanied him to Blois, and by Clement it was immediately committed to writing. See *Lettres d'Ossat*, lib. iii. p. 418—420. In my edition, Amst., 1714, the pages are 502—504.

* Page 197.

urging his dear son to prosecute the advantages gained against the Turkish dominion, and gently upbraids his majesty for sending, to the great enemy of the Christian name, the tyrant of the Turks, a person *calling himself* bishop of Acs, (now Dax, and in the heretical neighbourhood of Bearn, which probably brings the thoughts of Pius to what appears to be his main anxiety—the matrimonial connexion with Navarre). . ‘ Besides,’ continues the pontiff in his own words, ‘ this troubles us much, to wit, that the marriage of the prince of Navarre with your sister Margaret is there so urgently promoted, with the vain hope, that the prince by her means may be reduced to the Catholic religion ; when it is rather to be feared, that she may be perverted by him. Thus, therefore, the salvation of her soul is neglected ; for if she determine to live catholically, she will never have either peace or quiet with a heretical husband, nor can he ever be acceptable to her, but will pass his life in perpetual torments. If, on the other hand, she is content to conform herself to her husband’s errors, she may indeed perchance enjoy, during this miserable life, a certain human and fallacious tranquillity, but united

‘ with future eternal damnation, and a misery
‘ in hell never to terminate*.’ It must be
acknowledged, that Rome and its chief pas-
tors know how to hurl their maledictions with
some rotundity and eloquence. There are
several other interesting particulars in this
epistle, especially his holiness’s complaint of
the influence of adverse counsels in the court
of France, and an invasion of pontifical pre-
rogative in a case, which would involve him
in the guilt of being a favourer of heretics ;
‘ and therefore,’ he adds, ‘ we should have to
‘ give an account of the affair, not only to
‘ God, but likewise, (although the Vicar of
‘ CHRIST is bound to give account of his
‘ actions to none but God alone,) if we should
‘ err in matters of faith, the Divine Majesty
‘ has decreed, that his Vicar may become sub-
‘ ject to human judgment †.’ This is an extra-

* Præterea illud nos valde sollicitat, quod scilicet tantopere Navarrae Principis nuptiæ cum Margarita sorore tua istic urgeantur, inani quadam spe, fore ut per eam ad Catholicam Religionem Princeps ille reducatur : quin potius verendum est, ne illa ab ipso pervertatur. Ejus igitur animæ salus ita negligitur : etenim ipsi Catholice vivere volenti nulla pax, nulla quies unquam erit cum hæretico marito ; neque is unquam illi gratus esse poterit, sed vitam omnem perpetuis in cruciatibus traducet. Quod si ipsa ad mariti se voluerit errores conformare, fortasse quidem illa quiverit humanæ ac fallaci quadam miserræ hujus vitæ quiete potiri ; sed cum sempiterna deinceps damnatione infelicitateque nunquam apud inferos terminatura.

† Quamvis Christi vicarius nemini nisi soli Deo actionum suarum

ordinary passage: the question is, whether it is not intended as a *reductio ad absurdum*; for, when the pope favours heretics, what man, what court, is to convict him of so doing? It is something like the celebrated assertion, (for so it is, although a link,) that if a pope determine virtues to be vices, and the contrary, the church is bound to believe. Who is to be judge of the *dubious* and the *manifest**? The epistle before us ends with an intimation, that something will be *privately discussed* with the king respecting the late peace, so disastrous to the Catholics.

The order of dates now brings us to a quaternion of letters preserved and presented by the first and best of our biographers, from the four supreme rulers of France, the king and queen-mother, and the dukes of Anjou and Alençon; all dated the same day, February 24, 1572; and from the same place, Blois, on the river Loire, about one hundred miles

rationem reddere teneatur, si in rebus fidei erraremus, statuit divina majestas ut humano judicio vicarius ejus subjici queat.

* Bellarmin. de Summo Pontifice, lib. iv. cap. v. sect. ult. The cardinal found some exercise for his jesuitic talents in explaining and defending this declaration, which, notwithstanding his ingenious comment, stands unmoved in its original and obvious sense; nor is he able to disentangle himself from the net, in favour of private judgment, which he spread for his own feet. See *Recognitio Librorum*, &c. Ingolstadt, 1608, pp. 19, 20.

south of Paris, and at the time a royal residence. As the later date of the pope's letter will give but eighteen days between it and the letters which we have just alluded to, it is likely that the papal communication had not reached the writers now before us, at the date of their letters. At any rate there is no allusion in either of those letters to that of Pius. The only fact of the kind to which they *do* allude, is the negotiation of the legate, cardinal Alessandrino, of which something will and ought to be remembered.

The first letter, which is short, like all the rest, and commences like all the rest, with a reference to the legation of cardinal Alessandrino, is that of the king. It is superscribed to our most holy Father, the Pope. (Dentro.) Referring to the subject of the legate's commission, all that his holiness had committed to his agent, the king adds—' Concerning
' which we made answer, and entreated him
' to give an account of it, with the assurance,
' that your holiness might take in good part
' the end, towards which we are continually
' proceeding—which is, to restore in our king-
' dom and by means of our subjects what-
' soever the iniquity of the times and the civil
' wars have abolished and altered in the true

‘ service of God, by employing, after domestic
 ‘ affairs are settled and reduced to their pri-
 ‘ mitive state, all the power and ability which
 ‘ God has given, to produce effects corre-
 ‘ sponding to the title of Most Christian, which
 ‘ our predecessors and we have borne to
 ‘ this hour. Therefore we supplicate the
 ‘ Creator*, &c. Your devoted son, Charles.’

The queen-mother’s letter is an echo to her son’s, in which she promises for *him*, that he will do everything as becomes the Most Christian Prince, observing, that he is much distressed and restrained by the intestine troubles of the kingdom, and hoping, that by composing them, he may be at liberty to execute an undertaking so holy and laudable as that of his holiness †. For her part, she will omit no office calculated to confirm so holy and virtuous an intention; which she earnestly entreats his holiness firmly to believe, &c.

The duke of Anjou repeats the same offer of service respecting his royal brother’s good

* — assicurandoci, che la Santità Vostra piglierà in buona parte il fine, al quale del continuo caminiamo. Il che è di far ritornare, &c.— per impiegar—tutto quello, che Dio ne ha dato—a gli effetti corrispondenti al titolo, &c.

† — per esser dopo piu pronto ad abbracciar così santa, e lodevole impresa, com’ è quella di Vostra Santità.

will, of which *he* will give the best account to his holiness.

The other duke assures his holiness, that no prince is more devoted to him and the holy see, and that good proof of the same will be given by occasions which shall offer, when life itself will not be spared for the advantage and aggrandisement of the holy apostolic see*.

It is impossible to misunderstand these laconic and reserved but significant letters; or to disguise from ourselves, that some dark design was in meditation, and therefore in *premeditation* and contrivance.

Meanwhile the system of treachery was proceeding with a determined and steady step. The admiral was overwhelmed with caresses and confidence: the management of the Belgic war was committed to him. The marriage was pursued with resolute vigour, and, as to the event itself, with sincerity. Sacrifices of reality and magnitude were to be made: a strong illusion was to be put in execution; they were not common and superficial artifices which could obtain credit to the Florentine mother and her son, and enable them to deceive on a great scale, and to any considerable effect. The queen of

* Catena, pp. 343—7; among the Letters—indeed the last four.

Navarre left Rochelle, where she had been superintending the schools there established, and arrived at Blois, where the court was then residing, in March of this year, 1572. The king exerted himself to impose upon her, and was pleased with his own success. The marriage was the great cementing subject; and no blandishments were left unemployed to entrap the intended dupe. The place of the marriage was discussed; and the queen, with some reluctance, consented at last that it should be Paris: this indeed was a cardinal point. Objections were made to the Roman ceremonial: this was of less consequence; and the king promised to write to the pope for permission to use one which might be unobjectionable to a Protestant conscience. But his holiness, being under the deception which was shortly to be dissipated, was averse to the whole scheme, and was accordingly very in compliant. The incantations of the sorceress and her instruments were, however, progressively succeeding. The queen of Navarre, and the lords of the religion attending her, were so fascinated by the fair words and fond treatment which they received, that more penetrating and honest monitors were discouraged and reduced to too ominous silence.

The articles of marriage were drawn up, and signed at Blois, by Charles, Catherine, and Jeanne, on the 11th of April, 1572. Within three weeks after, on the 1st of May, **THE POPE DIED.** He was snatched away from the contemplation and enjoyment of the dearest object of his truculent wishes ; and, so inscrutable are the actings of Providence, that his death was almost necessary to the accomplishment of the event, which was an equally necessary introduction to the final one. For such was the resolution of the pontiff, and such the power of his terrific nature to inject fear into the most fearless, that the obstinacy of his resistance to the marriage might have frustrated it. But although the history of the life of Pius naturally closes with that life, the course of events which we are considering were so eminently his production, and were so steadily approaching to their consummation, that, in order to a just estimate of the character and acts of our subject, it is important to carry on our narration to its closing point. Who can read the letters which have been exhibited, and not be overpowered by the conviction, that all the acts up to the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and its imitation throughout

the kingdom, were the natural, and next to necessary, consequence, (a consequence, too, at which there is no reason to believe the conscience of the author recoiled,) of the lessons which a whole pontificate had been employed in inculcating upon the sovereigns of France? or, that, having found a piece of ordnance so suited to his purpose, and having loaded it to the muzzle, nothing was wanting but the application of a match, to produce the ultimate explosion, and consequent destruction *?

The death of Pius removed, and *opportunistically*, as we may recollect was observed by Camillo Capilupi, one important obstacle to a necessary article of the great *stratagem*. The cardinal of Lorraine hastened to Rome, with demonstrations intended to impress the notion, that he was uneasy under 'the new

* I am happy to confirm my view by so valuable a concurrence as that of Sharon Turner, in his history of the reign of Elizabeth, a portion of history which the new light thrown upon it by his research has rendered eminently serviceable to a cause now bearing the load of both natural and unnatural calumny. 'Happily for the world the greatest instigator of the [Roman] Catholic mind to the extirpation of the Protestants in every country, Pius V., died in the preceding May; though not till he had excited that spirit in the ruling powers of both the church and state at the Louvre, which produced that day at Paris, which human memory will never forget, nor ever recollect but with one common and irrepressible sentiment.'—Hist. of Edward VI. &c., 4to. pp. 545, 6.

accession of court favour to those of the religion.

A year and a half of this artificial and treacherous peace, with the Circean cups so plentifully and dexterously administered to the devoted victims, had so subdued the reasoning and provident faculty, that they flew into the snare prepared for them, like fascinated birds. First came the queen of Navarre; then the admiral, leaving the prosecution of the Belgic war to another, who could be better spared from Paris at the time. We pass over a variety of incidents, to which a historian ought to attend, and observe, that the first act of the tragedy was, the sudden death of the Protestant queen. Her removal was another of the opportune circumstances which the author of the *Stratagem* points out to his readers. The question of the cause lay between nature and poison. At all events, an individual, whose sagacity was an object of terror and necessary precaution of no slight intensity, was placed out of the power of alarming any longer. The king and court made great ostentation of grief, and, for the purpose of dispelling natural suspicion, the body was dissected and examined, with the exception of the brain, which would be the

part affected by the poison believed to have been communicated to her by means of gloves *. The mourning, however, was not very lengthened ; and it did not prevent the appointment of the marriage for the 18th of August ; a dispensation (forged, as it is reported to have been) having been obtained from the pope, for marriage with a heretic. The marriage was accordingly celebrated on the day appointed ; and yoked with the festivities of the occasion proceeded the preparations for the dreadful catastrophe which was to take place six days after.

Many admonitions of the treacherous designs of the court are said to have been given, and neglected. The city was filled with the heads, and a large number, of the Protestants, decoyed thither by various artifices. The king introduced troops, under the pretence of defending the admiral from the hostility of the Guises. The duke of Anjou proposed in council, that one of the two hostile parties should be sacrificed, and hesitated not to begin at least with the admiral, or the Pro-

* Beza, in a letter dated from Geneva, July 1st, 1572, writes, ‘ Amicus Navarrenam, quanti pretii foeminam ! et quidem eo tempore quo maxime juvare nos et potuit et voluit. Apparantur nuptiæ, mihi plane suspectæ in Solomonis ipsius sapientissimi exemplum intuenti.’—Epp. Theol. Genev. 1575, Ep. lxxviii. p. 292.

testants ; and a person of the name of Mau-
revel was selected for the attempt against the
person of Coligny, who, accordingly, on the
22d, as he was returning from the court, was
severely wounded by the assassin. The king
was in a rage of affected resentment, and
swore outrageously (as was his custom) to
take exemplary vengeance. The wounded
soldier, in his interview with the king, pro-
fessed his loyalty in a very affecting, and;
there is no doubt, sincere manner. The king
put in practice all his great talents at dissi-
mulation ; for, during the whole time, he was
making deliberate and artful arrangements
to disqualify the Protestants, either from de-
fending or avenging themselves*. On the

* Some notion of the religious character of the admiral may be con-
veyed by adducing, in an abridged form, the circumstances, detailed by
the writer of the *Memoires de l'Estat de France*, in its place, and by
the anonymous author of a small professed *Life* originally published in
1575, which took place after his wound, which was severe, painful, and
dangerous. When he saw his friends in tears around him, he said,
' Why do you weep for me, my friends ? I reckon myself happy to have
' received these wounds in the cause of God ;' and, observing Merlin,
the minister, he added, that he accounted his sufferings as a benefit, and
was thankful to God that he put so much honour upon him as to afflict
him for the glory of his sacred name : let us pray to him for the gift of
perseverance. Then, observing the minister weeping, he addressed
him—' My Merlin, you ought rather to comfort me.' Merlin replied,
that there could be no greater consolation than to reflect upon the ho-
nour done him by God in thus making him suffer for his sake. ' My

23d there was a great court-council, how to put in execution the plan of a complete destruction of the Protestant party*. The

'Merlin,' says the wounded soldier, 'if God should deal with me according to my deserts, and were to use his right towards me, far other would be the pains which I should have to endure. But blessed be his name! who treats his most unworthy servant with gentleness and clemency,' &c. 'You do well,' rejoined the pastor, 'to turn your thoughts from the author of the injury, to God who directed it.' 'I heartily forgive the offender,' replied Coligny; 'for I am assured that it is beyond the power of any of my enemies, without Him, to inflict upon me the slightest injury, or should they even accomplish my death; for death to me would be a certain passage to life.' Urged to express himself more strongly, he raised his voice, and said—'Lord God and Heavenly Father, have compassion upon me for the sake of thy kindness and clemency: remember not my past life and my iniquities. If thou shouldst regard our offences, our levity and perfidy in the transgression of thy laws, who should stand? who should sustain the power of thy wrath? Renouncing all fabulous deities, I invoke thee alone, and acknowledge and venerate thee alone, the Eternal Father of the Eternal God, Jesus Christ. By him I entreat thee to bestow upon me thy Holy Spirit and the gift of patience. In thy mercy alone I confide; in that alone is placed all my hope, whether thou visit me with instant death, or prolong my life. I profess myself prepared for both, nothing doubting but that if death be appointed thou wilt immediately admit me a happy and heavenly peace. Shouldst thou allow me longer continuance in life, grant, Heavenly Father, that what remains of it may be entirely spent in cultivating and practising thy most holy religion,' &c. &c. That these expressions were not the result of temporary excitement alone is evident from the closing part of the biography of this good man, where an account is given of his habitual and daily conduct, which was that of a devoted and diligent Christian. And this, in the view and expression of the reputed Father of Christendom, is, *that execrable and detestable man, that son of perdition!* O Rome! O Pius!

* — de Protestantibus ad internecionem plane delendis.—Thuanus Hist. lib. lii. c. vi. The reader will remember this terrible phrase in Pius's epistles.

signal for the commencement of the massacre was to be the ringing of the palace bell.

The queen-mother at midnight, distrusting the resolution of her son, stimulated his savage mind to the deed; and before the break of the fatal day, the day dedicated to the memory of St. Bartholomew, and in that year a Sunday, the soldiers at the king's command issued from the palace, and the signal was given by the tolling of the bell for the general pre-appointed slaughter. The duke of Guise led the way, and hastened to the residence of the hated admiral, who, understanding the state of things, composed himself to the death of a Christian hero. A German wretch of the name of Besme was the murderer; and the body was thrown out of the window, to satisfy the doubts, and to saturate the revenge of Guise. There is a circumstance relative to the treatment of the dead body, which, being characteristic, and referred to in a future place, ought not to be omitted: 'an Italian of the duke of Nevers's guard cut off the head of the admiral, which was carried to the king and the queen-mother, and afterwards embalmed and sent to Rome to the pope and the cardinal de Lorraine *.'

* — puis embaumée et envoyée à Rome au Pape et au cardinal de

Then the slaughter became general; and it was exclaimed, that the work of murder was the will of the king. Two thousand perished on that day; and among the victims were many eminent individuals, whose names are embalmed in the history of the event. The king immediately sent letters to the governors of the different provinces, throwing the blame of what had happened upon the Guises. The slaughter was continued in the capital, assisted by a superstitious inference from the unseasonable blossoming of a white-thorn; and the murdered in the whole amounted to about ten thousand. On the 26th, Tuesday, the king thought proper to alter his statement respecting what had happened, and to take the whole responsibility upon himself, as being his own order, and as a means of preventing a conspiracy formed by the admiral and his adherents against himself and kingdom. The president, the father of the great historian, whom we have been copying, that it might not be said we are following partial and interested guides, had the humiliation to be obliged to defend the con-

Lorraine. *Memoires de l'Estat de France, &c.*, tome i. fol. 290. The fact is confirmed by the *Mem. de Tavannes*. The succeeding indignities to the body were those of impure demons.

duct of the king, in council ; although he did it with prudent reserve, and detested the infamous deed. The king then gave orders for the massacre to cease, and a jubilee was proclaimed for what had been done. But the massacres which he had charged his governors to perform in the provinces did not, and were not meant to cease. They were prosecuted with brutal fury at Meaux, at Orleans, at Angers, at Bourges, and at other places ; but most extensively and inhumanly at Lyons, where Mandelot was governor. It is characteristic of the collection of massacres, (for there were many,) in the last mentioned wretched place, that when the common executioner was applied to to slaughter a number of unresisting prisoners, he declined, because he had no legitimate command. The guard of the citadel refused, saying, that they were not hangmen. The militia of the city, therefore, performed the office upon their fellow-citizens. The number who perished in this way was eight hundred ; and the current of the Rhone swelled with their dead bodies *. But I have an addi-

* In this account I have confined myself to De Thou and Davila, that my authorities might not be Protestant ; and I have not made the most of them.

tional reason for dwelling a little longer on this section of the Gallican massacre. A work, not in the hands of every one, has lately appeared in France, which throws very important light upon the general subject.

The title is, *Monumens Inédits de l'Histoire de France*. I. *Correspondance du Roi Charles IX., et du Sieur de Mandelot, Gouverneur de Lyons, pendant l'année 1572, Epoque du Massacre de la St. Barthelemy*. II. *Lettre des Seize au Roi d'Espagne Philippe II. Année 1591, (1830.)* The original is among the MSS. in the Royal Library of Paris, of the *fonds Lancelot*, No. 39. It contains the correspondence of the governor of Lyons from 1571 to 1587, with Charles IX. and Henry III., &c.; and it were much to be wished, that recriminators upon Protestantism would point out among the adherents of that persuasion a correspondence at all similar to this, and to many others, recognizing, so unsuspiciously and yet so decisively, the acts to which they refer. The agents here set to their own seal. The first letter of the fatal year from the vigilant governor is dated January 15, and complains of the influx of artisans and others, all of the religion, into the good city of Lyons. The

king in his answer shews his jealousy of these strangers, who, he adds, 'do nothing for the 'good of my service.' The tenth letter is a dark one of the queen-mother, commanding to let no courier pass from Rome or Italy to Paris, till after the Monday (week, as Paris, the editor, explains it, which would be the Monday after the receipt of the letter, as the writer would know). The reader must recollect the day appointed for the massacre, the 24th; the Monday after is meant. The governor is directed to conceal his instructions as carefully as possible—*le plus secrettement que pourrez*. Signed *Catherine*, and counter-signed *Chanteraux*. The plot thickens. The eleventh letter is from the king, of the 18th of August, the marriage-day of his sister and the king of Navarre, in which he enjoins the governor not to let any person whatever pass to Italy through Lyons, without the signature of the state 'for six days, counting from the 'date of the present'—six added to eighteen will make twenty-four, the fatal day. The same secrecy is here likewise exacted *as to the order coming from him*. A note of the editor, on this letter, is worth attending to. He observes, that these letters absolutely determine, not only the premeditation, but the

exact day of the intended massacre. By the wound or death of Coligny, on the 22d, it was intended, that the Protestants should be roused to some act of revenge, which would render it feasible to charge the massacre upon them. And the governors would take care that none should escape. He supposes too, that a forged dispensation was obtained from the new pope, which should not be contradicted by any arrival in Paris of a detection. A letter from the king, of the 20th, has a direction about four pieces of artillery; and the next of the 22d, gives a characteristically hypocritical account of the wounding of the admiral. It was a circular, and intended to lull the Protestants. The twelfth letter from the king has an awful date, the 24th, and is written after the deed of the day. It states, that the house of Guise and their adherents, having had *certain knowledge*, that the friends of the admiral meditated revenge upon them, between the two parties there arose *a great and lamentable sedition*, which he (good monarch!) endeavoured with all his might to appease, and was only, and marvellously apprehensive, great massacres would extend to the provinces. He determined, however, to enforce

his Edict of Pacification by severe penalties, taking care that the inhabitants should be *unarmed*, and the authorities *well armed*. The royal writer directs, that this regulation *should be made public*. There is a *postscript*, not in the duplicates of this circular, to other governors, worth all the rest of the letter.—*Monsieur de Mandelot, vous croirez le present porteur de ce que ja lui ay donné charge de vous dire*—M. de Mandelot, you will trust the bearer of this as to all that I have given it in charge to him to say. Number fifteen is a ‘*Note de Mandelot*,’ dated August 31, being a memorandum of his answer to the king’s last two letters, with an account of the arrangements for the security and repose of the city of Lyons. The governor, M. Paris observes, was *afraid* of committing the contents of the letter or letters themselves to writing. The massacre had already taken place on the 29th. The next letter of Mandelot, the sixteenth, is connected with the foregoing *Note*. It is dated September 2, the day but one after, and states the same fact of his answer to the king, and what, (he writes,) ‘*the Sieur du Perat has told me on his part*,’ thus divulging the *name* of the monster who was *entrusted* with the infernal message. The letter, which is long, is re-

markable for the pretended effort to prevent the murder of about two hundred persons of *the religion*, and particularly for the writer's *anxiety to obtain his share of the spoil of the victims*. Letter seventeen from the king, of the 28th of August, is remarkable for the *profession* of pacific intentions towards the reformed, and for the *revocation of a verbal command*, which was not in any respect to be executed, (*exécuté*). But in the next letter of Mandelot in answer to it, the governor tells the king, that the countermand arrived *four days after* all had happened—*the execution had taken place!* The remainder of the letter is terrifically curious; it relates to the disposal of the *head of the slaughtered admiral*. It recognizes, that a man was on his way to Rome with the head, and the king commanded the governor to stop him, and take away the said head; and he had made provision accordingly. He adds, that no one had passed through the city towards Rome, except a squire of M. de Guise, of the name of Paul, who had left four hours before the receipt of his majesty's letter—the *very man*. The editor remarks, that *the king's letter does not appear*; and of the ultimate fate of the head he is doubtful, whether, when arrived at

Rome, after having at Paris been trodden under the feet of the duke of Guise, and contemplated with avidity by the king and his mother, it at last regaled the eyes of the vicar of Jesus Christ. It was doubtless, he adds, first presented to the cardinal of Lorraine, then at Rome, who possibly, not venturing to offer it as a spectacle to the sacred college, and having sufficiently gratified his revenge, hastened to bury it. The rest of the letters in this small volume are highly interesting, as casting new, accidental, and, to the parties concerned, unwelcome light upon an awful and revolting event, and calculated to dismiss to the four winds all the softening hues given to the pictures of popery by the pencil of interested and liberalized artists. The St. Bartholomew was a genuine result of the religion whose votaries perpetrated it; and it is not perhaps too much to say, that the disposition to attenuate and palliate it, is separated by a very inconsiderable remove from the disposition to repeat it*.

* I feel far less disposed to give qualification than intensity to this sentiment; and least of all would exempt from its stroke a representation, to which the British Critic, No. xxii. pp. 35—15, first introduced me, in a just and effectual exposure and confutation of the 'Library of Entertaining Knowledge, Paris and its Historical Scenes.' The anonymous

In the year following the massacre, 1573, was published, but cautiously, as was necessary, without the name of place or printer, *Histoire des Massacres*, &c., translated into French from the Latin, with additions. To it was appended *les Lettres, Declarations, et Edicts du Roy*, &c., on the subject. These were translated into English by Thomas Tymme, minister, and printed by Coldock, 1574. Here are found several duplicates of the correspondence of Mandelot, directed to different governors, and *without the secret portions and notices*, which rendered the publication just examined so eminently valuable; but they afford each other mutual confirmation*.

author, after describing the horrors of the massacre, and *entertaining* the reader with a profoundly self-destructive speculation respecting its cause, adds, that 'we should be giving ourselves up, in some degree, to the 'very spirit which animated the sanguinary mob, whose excesses we 'have been recounting, were we to charge the Catholic' (meaning the *Roman Catholic*) 'religion in particular with the crimes committed on 'this occasion by those who happened to be its votaries.'—Vol. i. p. 267. It is difficult to conceive the consummate and degrading ignorance, or the contempt of truth and evidence, or the devotedness, whether gratuitous or venal, to the cause of popery or irreligion, exhibited in this sentence. It presents a woeful proof, either of the extent to which the British public are willing to be deceived, or of the opinion of those who cater for its literary appetite, how much it is so.

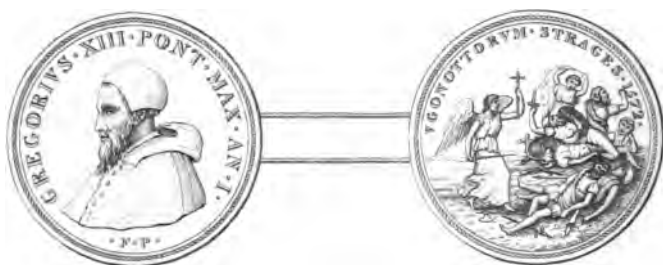
* See a Review of the *Monumens Inédits* furnished by the author in the *Protestant Journal*, for 1831, pp. 769—774. From a vast abundance of documents condemnatory of the infernal act criticised above, I will sa-

When the news of this perambulating sacrifice of not less than forty thousand human

tisfy myself with an honourable and affecting letter of the father-in-law of the regal ruffian, who willingly took his part in the perpetration. It is written by the emperor Maximilian to a nobleman, Lazarus von Schwendi, on his recovery from a fit of illness. It breathes the most Christian and resigned sentiments, which, in such a soil as his own church, is both the more remarkable, and the more valuable. Lamenting the wickedness and misery of worldly transactions, he proceeds to the act, so tyrannically committed against the admiral and his companions, and with heartfelt sorrow laments that his son-in-law should have consented to so foul a massacre. 'Now,' he adds, 'although I know, that others govern more than himself, *that* will not excuse the villainy of the fact. Would God he had advised with me first! As a father, I would faithfully have told him, that I would never consent. The stain inflicted by the deed upon his honour he will not readily efface. God forgive the guilty; for I much fear, that the same treatment may be returned upon them; and it is the fact, as you wisely write, that religious concerns are not to be determined by the sword.' With more to the same purpose; and an indignant repulsion of the rumour, that the massacre was effected with his privy and advice. The letter then proceeds to the affairs of the Netherlands, and is dated Wien, February 22, 1574. — So viel die redliche that, so die Franzosen mit dem Admiral und den seinigen tyrannischer weise erzeigt haben, die kan ich gar nicht loben, und habe es mit herzlichem leid vernommen, dass sich mein Tochtermann zu einem solchen schändlichen blutbade hat bereden lassen. Doch weis ich so viel, dass mehr andere leute, als er selber, regieren. Aber nichts destoweniger list es sich damit nicht beschönigen: ist auch damit nicht ausgerichtet. Wollte Gott! er hätte mich zu rath gefragt, wolte ihm treulich, als ein Vater, gerathen haben, dass er dieses gewisslich nimmermehr mit meinem rath gethan hätte. Er hat ihme hierdurch einen flecken angehengt, den er nicht leichtlich ablegen wird. Gott verzeihe es denen, so daran schuldig. Dann ich höchlichen besorge, dass sie er erst mit der zeit erfahren werden, was sie gutes damit gewirkt haben. Und es in der wahrheit nicht anderst, als wie ihr vernünftiglich schreibet, dass Religionssachen nicht mit dem schwerdt wollen gerichtet und gehandelt werden. — Ja ich kan euch nicht verhalten, dass etliche unverschämte und verlogene buben

victims to the Moloch of papal anti-christianity, reached the city whence it originated, the true author of it had left his kingdom on earth; and the ostentatious demonstrations of joy with which the event was celebrated were reserved for the enjoyment, not of him, with whose feelings they most perfectly harmonized, but of another, of a nature more humanely compounded, who took his necessary part in the atrocious jubilee, not so much from any concurrence in his own disposition, as from the ruthless immanity of his church. If every Protestant account of this fact must encounter suspicion, we will satisfy ourselves with the testimony, both of a medal of the very pope who was a party and chief, and of an erudite commentator upon that medal, a Romanist, and the quintessence of Romanism, a Jesuit,—neither of them accessible to the imputation of fabricating a falsehood, to the discredit of the holy, apostolic, Roman, Catholic church.

seynd, die da haben dürfen sagen, was der Franzos in diesem fall gethan hätte, das wäre nicht allein mit meinem vorwissen, sondern auch rath geschehen. Daran thut man mir (Gott weis) vor ihnen und der welt unrecht, &c. — It is to be found in S. R. I. Constitt. a Goldasto editis. Francofurti, 1607, part. iii. no. xxx. p. 208, and is extant, in the original German, in the *Nuptiæ Parisinæ*, included in the Leipzig edition of Muretus, 1750. What a contrast between this temporal, and the spiritual sovereign, with whom we are concerned!



*The Medal
struck at Rome, by order of
Gregory XIII.
To celebrate the Massacre of
St. Bartholomew's Day.*

Printed for the Life of PIUS. V. by Charles Hammond, Birmingham.

The medal has on the obverse, as usual, a figure of the pope, GREGORIUS XIII . PONT . MAX . AN . I . The reverse has a representation of a destroying angel, with a cross in one hand and a sword in the other, slaying and pursuing a prostrate and falling band of heretics. The legend is, UGONOTTORUM . STRAGES . 1572.

The explanation of Bonanni may be thus translated:—

‘ The unexpected change of affairs over-
‘ whelmed Gregory, the pontiff, and Italy,
‘ with the greater joy, in proportion to the
‘ increasing fear produced by the account of
‘ cardinal Alessandrino, lest the rebels, who
‘ had revolted from the antient religion,
‘ should inundate Italy. Immediately upon
‘ the receipt of the news the pontiff pro-
‘ ceeded with solemn supplication from St.
‘ Mark’s to St. Louis’s temple; and having
‘ published a Jubilee for the Christian world,
‘ he called upon the people to commend the
‘ religion and king of France to the supreme
‘ Deity. He gave orders for a painting de-
‘ scriptive of the slaughter of the admiral and
‘ his companions, to be made in the Hall of
‘ the Vatican, by Giorgio Vasari, as a monu-
‘ ment of vindicated religion, and a trophy of

‘exterminated heresy, solicitous to impress
‘by that means how salutary would be the
‘effect to the sick body of the kingdom of so
‘copious an emission of bad blood. He
‘sends cardinal Ursino as his legate à latere
‘into France, to admonish the king to pursue
‘his advantages with vigour, nor lose his
‘labour, so prosperously commenced with
‘sharp remedies, by mingling with them
‘more gentle ones. Although these were
‘such brilliant proofs of the piety of Charles,
‘and of his sincere attachment to the Ca-
‘tholic church, as well as of pontifical solici-
‘tude, there were not wanting some who
‘gave them a different interpretation. But,
‘that the slaughter was not executed without
‘the help of God and the divine counsel,
‘Gregory inculcated in a medal struck on
‘the occasion, in which an angel, armed with
‘a sword and a cross, attacks the rebels; a
‘representation, by which he recalls to mind,
‘that the houses of the heretics were signed
‘with a white cross, in order that the king’s
‘soldiers might know them from the rest, as
‘likewise they themselves wore a white cross
‘on their hats*.’

* *Insuperata Galliae commutatio Gregorium Pontificem, et Italiam eo majore gaudio perfudit, quo gravior fuerat metus ex relatione cardinalis*

This is less than the concluding half of what the rather incautious Jesuit writes upon the subject; and in the prior part we have, to the confusion of such palliators and falsifiers as some modern papal historians, a rather liberal recognition both of the extent of the *series* of massacres, and the *plunder* accruing from them to the assassins. But in the citation which we *have* given, let the reader just refresh his memory with—the joy—the jubilee—the monitory painting—the cool approbation of the cruel deed—the dread of a mixture of mildness—the recognition of the

Alexandrini, ne perduelles ab avita religione desciscentes, Italiam inundarent. Accepto nuncio statim Pontifex ab sede Sti. Marci ad Sti. Ludovici templum solemnī supplicatione se contulit, indictoque Jubilæe Christiani orbis populos provocavit ad Galliæ religionem et Regem supremo Numini commendandos. Colinii et Sociorum cædem in Vaticana Aula describi coloribus jussit a Georgio Vasaro, Religionis vindicatæ monumentum, et de profligata hæresi trophæum, sollicitus inde quam salubris ægro Regni corpori tam copiosa depravati sanguinis emissio esset profutura. Flavium Cardinalem Ursinum Legatum à latere in Galliam destinat, qui Carolam Regem admoneat, ut cæptis insistat fortiter, neque curam, asperis remediis inchoatam prospere, perdat leniora miscendo.

Quamquam hæc fuerint tam præclara Caroli pietatis, atque sinceræ in Catholicam Ecclesiam fidei documenta, necnon Pontificiæ sollicitudinis; non defuere, qui secus interpretarentur. Attamen non sine Dei ope divinoque consilio eam stragem perpetratam esse in numismate percuso docuit Gregorius, in quo Angelus, gladio et cruce armatus, contra rebelles invehitur, qua etiam expressione in mentem revocat, hæreticorum domus alba cruce obsignatas fuisse, ut eas milites Regii inter cæteros dignoscerent, sicuti ab ipsis crux alba in pileis gestabatur.—Numism. Pontiff. Rom. a temp. Mart. V., &c. Roma, 1699, tom. i. p. 336.

authority of the medal, and of the care with which the victims were marked for destruction—and the Deity called in to sanction the whole!

Respecting the pictures in the Vatican, it may just be noticed, that a good account of them, three in number, may be found in *Misson's Voyage to Italy*, and that, of the second, which represents the Admiral thrown out of the window after his murder, an engraving is given by De Potter, as a frontispiece to the *Bruxelles* edition, published in 1827, of his translated extracts from the letters of Pius. There were several medals struck in France on this triumphant occasion. Two are in my possession: one in bronze, with the date under the head, 1572, and on the reverse a figure of the king on his throne with several severed heads under his feet, and the legend, *VIRTUS . IN . REBELLES*. The other is a fine large one in silver, the head, of a ferocious expression, on one side, on the other a figure of Hercules attacking the hydra with a club in one hand and a torch in the other, with the legend, *NE FERRUM TEMNAT SIMUL IGNIB' OBSTO*, and the date 1572 in the exergue*. Before we finally quit this subject,

* See *Thuani Hist. lib. liii. c. 1.*

it certainly will not be irrelevant to observe, in what manner one, out of many, of the apologists of Rome think proper to represent it, and what degree of credulity they reckon upon in favourable readers. Casimiro Tempesti, a Franciscan, has written a life of Sixtus V., published in Rome, 1754, in two volumes, quarto; and some deference has lately been paid to his authority. Some account of the celebrated massacre came, as it naturally would do, in his way. At page 105 of the first volume, he observes that the splendid actions of Charles in the Catholic cause have received a sinister interpretation; and, speaking of Coligny, he relates, that after his wound he swore vengeance; but, adds our biographer, ‘*by the sentence of the senate*, he ‘was despatched in his own bed, and ended ‘both his life and his threats*.’ Did the writer mean it to be believed, that the Admiral was put to death in consequence of a regular judicial or legislative procedure? And was that the fact? Really, these papal writers require to be watched at every step, and to be suspected, till they can verify their affidavits, like a felon or a swindler.

* — ma per sentenza del senato, &c.

CHAPTER VII.

Illness and death of the Pontiff—His body deposited in St. Peter's—Removed to S. Maria Maggiore—Inscription—Beatification—Canonization—Medal—Service in Breviary—Reflexions—Parallel of characters of Saul before conversion, and of Pius V.

WE now return to the person of Pius. In the midst of the troubles which he was the chief agent in stirring, and while he was meditating more, in the month of January, 1572, when he had completed his sixty-eighth year, the pontiff was attacked by his original complaint in a dangerous degree. Catena notices many supernatural prognostics of an event, which he represents as a general calamity. The pontiff suffered great pain, which he endured with proportionable patience, uttering with sighs towards a crucifix, *Lord! increase the sufferings, but with them increase the patience.* On Good Friday, the 4th of April, a cross was brought into his chapel, which he adored with fervour both of mind and body. A report was circulated of his death, at which general grief was demonstrated. The Turk, however, who is said to have dreaded his prayers, rejoiced. The pontiff had sufficient strength to deliver the usual benediction from

St. Peter's on Easter Day. He felt, however, his end approaching; and having received the sacrament from his nephew, and blessed, as he was anxious to do, the *Agnus Dei*s with many tears, he desired his confessor, by authority from him, to pronounce a plenary indulgence upon him *. He afterwards expressed his intention of visiting, for the last time, the seven churches, on foot, which, with difficulty, he performed †; and, coming

* The reader should be informed that particular directions are given in the *Sacrarum Cærimon. Libri, &c.*, in what manner a pontiff should die, and that Pius accurately conformed to them. The chapter is in the fifteenth, or last, section of the first book, *De Ægrotatione, &c. Rom. Pont.* in my edition, Colon. 1572, foll. 156, et seq.

† If his holiness had himself, or wished to impress upon others, any faith in the ocean of indulgences treasured in the Seven Churches, and others, of Rome, his making a point of visiting them is readily to be accounted for. General readers have no conception of the infinitude of this spiritual wealth in Rome. Indulgences, for tens, hundreds, thousands of years; plenary and most plenary; from punishment and guilt; for crimes however enormous; for the living and the dead; for delivering souls out of purgatory—to say nothing of all the temporal benefits—are as abundantly strewed over the areas of the Seven Churches as sand on the sea shore. Let the reader just look into the *Mirabilia Romæ*, published in all forms and languages, and with due papal sanction,—that of Eucharis Silber, in 1509, at Rome, of which a copy is in the Bodleian; the *Cose Maravigliose di Roma*, by Francino in 1587, and of which I have an edition in 1600, with the privilege of the pope, and printed in Rome; the *Fiscus Papalis* of W. Crashaw, with an English translation, from a Latin MS. agreeing with the preceding; or, to instance no more, the hooll pardon of Rome, graunted by dyverse Popis, &c., in Arnold's *Chronicle*, last edition, pp. 145—156, evidently translated—and he will not accuse the caterers of Rome of having neglected to spread a most tempting banquet for sinners of all descriptions in the Eternal City and her churches. Onuphrius Panvinus, and Serranus,

to the Scala Santa, with tears he kissed the last step three times, as if taking a final farewell. There he stopped to attend to many English Catholics (Roman), who had fled from their country, and who were permitted to kiss his feet. He received them graciously, and charged cardinal Alessandrino to take down their names in writing, in order to provide for their necessities, and, looking towards heaven, he said, ' Lord, if it were ' my part I would yet help them with my

although they have practised a prudent reserve upon this subject, have yet divulged enough to give credit, if it were wanted, to the more honest and communicative works above referred to. These things do not rest upon tablets and traditions in churches alone, but are extant in various papal bulls accessible at the present day; and an elaborate work, expressly on the subject, by Eusebius Amort, a Regular Canon, printed at Venice, with privilege of Superiors, in 1738, and dedicated to Clement XII., details the whole, almost, if not quite, as unreservedly as the works first adduced. See pp. 180 and following. By why multiply proof upon so evident a point? Our own Hore Sarum, particularly of 1526 and 1527, authentic books of devotion, are full of this profligate species of imposture. Even in the chapel of St. Michael, Macclesfield, there exists, at the present time, a brass tablet, recording 26,000 years and twenty-six days of pardon, for saying five paternosters, five aves, and a creed.— See Protestant Guardian, i. pp. 337 et seq. And Dr. Challoner, bishop of Debra, &c., in his Catholic Christian Instructed, contributes his unwilling testimony, when he attempts to *account* only for these elongated indulgences, though he catches at the hopeless benefit of an *if*.— p. 117, ed. 1788. In illustration of this subject, I shall add in the APPENDIX, a copy of a very curious, and, probably, unique, Indulgence, given by a doctor and commissary of the hospital of the Holy Spirit in Saxia de Urbe, to the members of that fraternity, and printed by our Richard Pynson, near the date of the instrument, 1520, for the use of some affiliated society here. It was attached to the binding of a book, and was the only thing valuable in it. I purchased it from Mr. Bohn.

'own blood.' He likewise desired his nephew, who had command enough of the other cardinals, to hasten the election of a successor after his death, that no interruption might happen to the league. He then directed that the seven penitential psalms should be read to him, and the account of the Saviour's passion; and on the last day of April had the ceremony of extreme unction administered, discoursing of his approaching dissolution without any perturbation. His last act was to place both his hands on a cross, when he quietly expired, on the 1st of May, between four and five o'clock in the afternoon*.

* — *sù le ventidue hore.*—Catena. Llorente, in the course of his detailed account of the trial and persecution of Carranza, writes, that 'there were indications which seemed to announce that the death of the pope [Pius V.] was not natural, but effected by the agents of the Inquisition in Spain, who wished to hinder the determination of the cause, of Carranza: I do not,' he adds, 'give credit to conjectures readily, but letters are in existence which contain some propositions of rather a bold description; one says "Little importance ought to be attached to the death of a man who discovers himself so devoted to a Dominican monk, his brother, and who, in conversation, compromises the honour of the Inquisition of Spain. The Inquisition would be a great gainer by the death of such a pope." '—*Hist. de l'Inquisit.* ed. 2, tome iii. p. 298. If the life of Pius were thus violently abridged, the impatience of his enemies probably deprived him of the satisfaction of seeing with his mortal eyes, or hearing of with his mortal ears, the final success of his efforts in rousing the court of France to exterminating vengeance against the Protestants. Here was the retribution which is often seen in the course of Providence—'Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed.'

After his death three stones were discovered in his bladder. To omit minor and usual superstitions, his body was conveyed to St. Peter's, where the attachment of numbers was signalized towards him by kissing his feet; and it is added, that some courtezans who approached him for the purpose of exulting over the departure of so zealous a castigator of their licentiousness, were so affected, that they changed their purpose, and, kissing his feet, bemoaned their sins. The body was then placed in a small temporary tomb in the chapel of St. Andrew, in the cathedral of St. Peter, to be removed in due time, according to his direction, to the monastery of Bosco, his native place, with the following epitaph :—

PIUS . V . PONT.

Religionis ac pudicitiae vindex,

Recti et justii assertor,

Morum et disciplinae restitutor,

Christianae rei defensor,

Salutaribus editis legibus,

Gallia conservata,

Principibus foedere junctis,

Parta de Turcis victoria,

Ingentibus ausis et factis,

Pacis belli. gloria.

MAXIMUS

PIUS . FELIX . OPT . PRINC.

In the year 1588, however, on the 9th of January, Sixtus V. thought it due respect to his predecessor to remove his remains from their inferior station in St. Peter's to a magnificent chapel in the church of S. Maria Maggiore, known by other names, where a sumptuous monument was erected, upon which are three long inscriptions. The first alone is of any interest, and shall be given at length* :—

PIUS V. Gente Gisleria Boschi in Liguria natus

Theolog. eximius a Paulo III. In Insubria

Hæreticæ pravatit. Inquisitor.

A Julio III. Sanctæ Inquisit. Off. Commiss. Generalis

A Paulo IIII. Episc. Sutrin. Deinde S. R. E. TT. S. Mariæ

Sup. Minervam Præsb. Card. Et a Pio IIII. Ecclesiæ Montis

Reg. In Subalpinis Administrator factus,

Eo vita functo summo Cardd. consensu Pont. Max.

Creatur. Qui Veteres Sanctos Pontifices æmulatus,

Catholicam Fidem propagavit,

Ecclesiasticam disciplinam restituit,

Et tandem gestarum rerum gloria clarus,

Dum majora molitur,

Totius Christianæ Reip. damno nobis eripitur.

Cal. Mali MDLXXII. Pont. An. VII. Ætat. suæ LXVIII.

The next inscription is under the representation of the victory over the Turk : the third

* A view of this monument may be seen in Ciaconii Vitæ Pontiff., &c., last ed. tom. iii. col. 1007.

under that of the victory over the Huguenots, and particularly commemorates the achievements of the papal troops and their commander. What a crowning eulogy would the victory of St. Bartholomew have afforded !

The biography of P. A. Maffei now begins, for the first time, to become useful to us. It must be recollected, that it is one, and perhaps the most respectable, of the lives, written on occasion of the canonization of Pius. One whole book, the seventh, is occupied with an account of the miracles of the pontiff, among which the gift of prophecy stands at the head. It is not necessary to be detained by these : many of them were posthumous, and effected through his merits. The next and final book, the eighth, commences with an account of the translation of the body of Pius, as already given ; but the second chapter brings us to an event of some moment, relative to this individual, his Beatification, which took place exactly a century after his death. There was in the church of Rome a prevailing opinion of the sanctity and miracles of Pius ; and his actual beatitude was so powerfully attested as to be incontrovertible. Nothing remained but the judicial establishment of his claim to entitle him to the ceremony and

honour of beatification. The affair began to be urged early, and was pursued with zeal by successive pontiffs, till at length it was seriously taken into consideration by the sacred congregation of Rites. But it was important to observe the judicial order with the strictest rigour, and, the validity of the processes being approved, in the year 1630, it was finally resolved that the virtues necessary to the beatification of a saint were possessed by Pius in a heroical degree. His miracles were discussed with due severity and admitted; and the affair of his beatification was pressed with incomparable vigour. It was not, however, till the year 1672, and the 8th of March, that the congregation issued a peremptory decree to proceed to the beatification of the most holy pontiff, Pius, with the concession of a mass and proper office. The decree was approved by Clement X., by a breve of the 27th of April, which was put in execution on the 1st of May.

The scene of the gorgeous ceremony was the Basilica of St. Peter. Every profusion of theatric decoration was adopted to render it imposing to the senses. The cardinal prefect of the congregation of Rites formally

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demanded the beatification of the pontifical servant of God—and the claim was allowed.

The breve of Clement was then read from a pulpit, purporting that Pius V., on account of his sanctity, heroic virtues, and miracles, was entitled to be declared, and was declared, a saint, and that, as to a pontiff, confessor, a peculiar office and mass might be annually recited in certain places, on the 5th of May, *that* being the first unoccupied day after the first. His body and relics were likewise allowed to be exposed for the veneration of the faithful, and his images to be adorned with rays, or splendours.

This joyful ceremony was signalized, and assisted, as usual, with drums and trumpets, and a discharge of artillery from the castle of St. Angelo, accompanied with the harmonious concert of all the bells of the churches of Rome. The ceremony was closed with a solemn mass and a plenary indulgence to all the faithful, confessing and communicating. His then reigning holiness, however, would not leave the people without the benefit of his own example, and therefore went, with a large company, to St. Peter's, to venerate the image of the beatified ; as likewise did Chris-

tina, queen of Sweden. There were illuminations at St. Peter's and at the churches of S. Maria Maggiore, where the body of Pius reposed, and of S. Maria sopra Minerva of the Dominicans, the order to which his holiness belonged. In short, says the panegyric biographer, nothing was omitted which could contribute to honour the memory of the most glorious S. Pio, proposed, exactly an hundred years after his death, to the veneration of Catholicism.

The sacred relics of the saint were transferred, on the 11th of September, 1697, to the neighbourhood of the new monument erected by Sixtus V., in the church of S. Maria Maggiore*.

* I hesitated for some time whether to introduce the substance of the present note; because I did not wish unnecessarily to unite anything which might have an air of levity with the present part of the subject. But Protestants ought really to know how Rome gets up her imposing scenic exhibitions. The account which follows is taken from the Protestant Journal for 1831, p. 186, and was communicated, as I understand, by a gentleman who has honourably distinguished himself in the walks of interesting literature. Our Pius is the subject. 'When at Rome,' he writes, 'in 1824, prior to the commencement of the Jubilee, or Anno Santo, New Year's Day, 1825, I took some ladies to see the magnificent chapel of this said pope in S. Maria Maggiore. Its magnificent marbles, statues, and bronzes, were being rubbed up—the ceiling was being whitewashed—and all was bustle, cleaning, and preparation for the Anno Santo, which was to begin in ten days. Through the negligence of the attendants we got into the chapel, and greatly was I surprised to find the beautiful sarcophagus of verde antico

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Nothing now remained to complete the earthly and posthumous glory of Pius but his canonization—an honour most formally and directly emanating from the fountain of honour in the papacy.

This was called for by the general of his order; and the Congregation of the Sacred Rites was applied to on the 7th of April, 1696, to institute an inquiry into miracles performed by Pius since his beatification; and, out of five offered, two were allowed to pass. Various meetings were held in the Consistory by the reigning pope, Clement XI.; and at length a day was appointed for conferring the desired honour,

‘opened and empty. From a simple-minded workman I gained the following information:—The bones of the saint, (for so he is,) are covered with silk robes, and ornamented with jewels and gold tinsel; a glass front is placed behind the marble one, and thus, on some festivals, by the removal of the latter, the body of the saint is exposed in the sarcophagus to the public. As the approach of the Jubilee led to inquiry as to the saint’s dress, it was found he was not brilliant enough for this grand occasion, and the pope’s tailor, (who, the man said, lived at No. —, in the street Corso, near the Via Condotti,) had orders to make a new dress. The state of the chapel rendered it inconvenient for the tailor to fit the dress near the tomb, and therefore he hit upon the expedient of carrying off the bones of Pius in their faded silks to his own house. I am sorry I never called on the honest Fleming, whose name was Carton, to see if he had fitted the pope as well as he once did myself. But there could be no doubt of the fact, as the poor man told his tale with the utmost simplicity—was not aware that any one could be surprised at it—and could have no object in deceiving me. Nov. 27, 1830.’

not only on Pius, but likewise on three other individuals, whose names are not important, one of them a woman. The day finally fixed upon for the purpose was the 22d of May, 1712, on that year being Trinity Sunday. The English reader can have slight, or no conception of the almost interminable quantity of ceremony performed on this occasion. I have before me the *Acta Canonizationis Sanctorum Pii V. Pont. Max. Andreæ Avelini, &c., Romæ MDCCXX. Ex Typographia Vaticana, &c. Superiorum Permissu.* The necessary business was much abridged in the case of Pius by his previous beatification, and perhaps as to the other three. But still the labour to be encountered was immense, if it were only to deliver and hear the various orations which were required. The attendance in the course of the preparation for the ceremony was highly respectable; and it was a matter of exultation, that several oriental prelates were among the number assembled, particularly the Greek, Armenian, and Syriac, whose speeches are carefully given in the language native to each. It was, as it was intended to be, a season of great festivity; and to give every impulse, or the most cogent, to the satisfaction of the public, plenary

and elongated indulgences were distributed with unlimited prodigality, and on terms, of which, if they were not the cheapest imaginable, every individual was his own judge. Not to allude to the scattered favours of this description, let the reader turn to page 244, at which begins, *Narratio Festivitaturn post Solennia Canonizationis*, and run his eye over the spiritual treasures displayed in the *Indulgenze*, which his holiness, Clement XI., vouchsafed to the crowns, rosaries, images, crosses, and medals, blessed for the occasion, &c. I shall only add to this account, that the volume here extracted from, contains plates exhibiting the imposing pomp of the scene of which it is subject ; and that, if the reader is not captivated by the representation, it is not for want of due appeal to his senses. Not even the religion of Mahomet has studied the art of human seduction with so much perseverance and success as the religion of Rome. There is a cup in the hands of the sorceress, with which she has made all the nations of the world drunk ; and neither her occupation nor efforts have yet ceased.

If any surprise should be felt at passing over with so much neglect, what is the principal ingredient in the ceremonies of beati-

fication and canonization, the *miracles*, it would be enough to observe, that the scene of their performance is a little too far removed, and the whole question settled too much among parties who must be supposed to understand one another, to make examination at all a hopeful experiment; and if no other mode of meeting them were accessible, it would be quite definitive, for satisfaction, to refer to the ‘Official Memoirs of the Juridical Examination into the Authenticity of the Miraculous Events which happened at Rome in the years 1796–7, including the Decree of Approbation, &c., translated from the French, compared with the Italian of Sig. Gio. Marchetti, Apostolic Examiner of the Clergy, &c. By the Rev. B. Rayment. London, Keating and Co., 1801.’ If this book at this time of day is not a complete answer to every miracle from Rome, there is no conclusion to be found in a perfect syllogism*.

I must yet claim indulgence to add, that there are now before me two bulky folios of so late a date as 1818, printed at Rome at the

* Sir Richard Steele’s *Romish Ecclesiastical History* of late years, which gives a detailed account of the Canonization of the Four Saints, is worth consulting.

Apostolic press, being the detailed proceedings of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, under cardinal Litta, in the Beatification and Canonization Ven. Servi Dei P. Pauli a Cruce, with as grave, laborious, and extended examination of the miracles, as well as heroic virtues of the honoured individual, as the reports of committees of our Houses of Parliament. The abhorrence of a vacuum in the hours of the idle will reconcile them to any labour, whatever its fatuity, and make them serious in the pursuit of it; otherwise we should wonder at a great portion of Italian occupation*.

There is a well executed medal of the canonization which we have been reviewing. The reverse is the four saints on their knees; the legend, INTER . SANCTOS . SORS . ILLORUM . MDCCXII †.

I had at first intended to transcribe the whole of the service appropriated to Pius V. on the 5th of May, in the Breviary; but the

* There are some autograph signatures in these volumes, which came from the library of the earl of Guilford; and, from papers with written numbers upon them, the book should seem to have been in actual use on the occasion.

† Venuti informs us that Clement XI. pronounced an eloquent homily on the occasion.—Numism., &c., pp. 336, 7. Guarnacci gives us nothing but the simple fact.

Lectioes, iv. v. and vi., which contain an outline of his history, furnish nothing either for matter which has not been given in the preceding pages, or for expression which is in any respect remarkable *. The single prayer, however, shall be presented to the reader for more than one reason.

‘Deus, qui ad conterendos Ecclesiæ tuæ
‘hostes, et ad divinum cultum reparandum,
‘Beatum Pium Quintum Pontificem Maxi-
‘mum eligere dignatus es: fac nos ita tuis
‘inhærere obsequiis, ut omnium hostium su-
‘peratis insidiis, perpetua pace lætemur: Per
‘Dominum nostrum.’

I subjoin the translation from ‘the Roman
‘Missal for the Use of the Laity,’ &c.
Printed by Keating and Co., 1815.

‘O God, who wast pleased to raise blessed

* We may, however, observe in Lect. v., the commendation of Pius’s assiduous vigilance in extirpating heresy—in extirpandis erroribus assidua vigilantia—and in Lect. vi., the ‘miracles effected by his intercession’—none are stated as performed by him *personally*—‘which being duly proved, he was made a saint by Clement the Eleventh, chief pontiff.’ Then follows the prayer:—‘May he intercede for the sins of all people’—Ipse intercedat pro peccatis omnium populorum—Ipsæ intercedat. Is there one literate Roman Catholic priest, bound to repeat daily a portion of the Breviary, as the most solemn formulæ of his church, who believes in a single miracle even of those said to have been effected by the intercession of Pius? And, in fact, does such an one believe in the intercession of this pontifical saint at all? I trow, not.

‘ Pius to the dignity of chief bishop, in order
 ‘ to *depress* the enemies of thy church, and
 ‘ restore the divine worship : make us by thy
 ‘ grace, so diligently [diligent] in all that
 ‘ concerneth thy service, that we may defeat
 ‘ the treacherous designs of our enemies, and
 ‘ rejoice in everlasting peace. Through*.’

It is painfully useful to observe, how a layman of the Roman church can prevail upon himself to speak of a fellow mortal, as Maffei does of Pius in his concluding remark respecting his own work. ‘ Whatever,’ he writes, ‘ these my labours may be, I offer

* The service is there under the 11th of May, and at page 583. But what I would chiefly notice is, the artful and dishonest rendering of *conferendos* by *depress*. The difficulty to which knavery almost necessarily reduces itself is observable in a varied rendering of the same word by *reduce*, in the Vespers, forming a consecutive volume to the other, by Keating and Co., 1828, p. 219. No—the tiger must hide his claws for the time. But who, after all this, would believe, that in the *Ordinary of the Mass*, by J. P. Coghlan, No. 37, Duke-street, Grosvenor-square, 1799, the word was fairly translated, *crush* ? In the same manner, in the Canon of the Mass, p. 35, the word *adore*, which in the original is grammatically connected with the *host*, is there made intransitive, or without an object, unless it be supposed to be God. In 1729, a similar honour to that of Pius V. was awarded to the celebrated Gregory VII. ; and the saint had an office appointed to him by Benedict XIII., on the 25th of every returning May, where his courage and exertions in defending the *Liberty of the Church* are duly celebrated, not without some reasonable offence at the time to neighbouring ruling powers, particularly the Dutch. But the pontiff was resolute.—See Ben. XIII. Vita by Alex. Borgia, Romæ, 1741, pp. 119, 120 ; and the Service in the Breviary after 1720.

‘ them as a tribute to him, and pray to him,
‘ on their account, to receive me under his
‘ patronage, and to be an advocate for me to
‘ God, to whom and to his saints be ascribed
‘ glory throughout all ages.’

We have thus brought to a close our review of a life, both personally, and as a representative or chief officer, of the system which he administered, of considerable activity and effect. His original and authorized biographers have well understood how to flatter with their pens. They have ascribed to their hero a profusion of virtues, public and private, general and professional, those of a Christian, those of a Roman Catholic, those of a Pope. His active virtues, of whatever sort, form the principal, as the most conspicuous portion ; but, that he was equally eminent for the private ones, and for those of abstinence, may be inferred from the observation, that in the course of his regular confession, throughout the successions of character and office which he had passed, up to the highest, he had never to confess, what in his church is denominated a mortal sin. Without any disposition to detract from the real merits of this presumed saint, we must except a large class which are only esteemed

such by a communion believed by Protestants and others to be in error. For the remainder we only add, that the virtues of such men as Pius V. are a signal and salutary proof, how far men may proceed in the performance of acts materially religious, especially when they coincide with natural disposition, or the ruling passion, without the possession of any real religion.

It is likewise a reflexion of some value derived from the preceding biography, that if, under the influence of a principle by no means rare, we infer from the brutish bigotry and sanguinary intolerance of this pontiff, that equal favour, or indifference to all religion, is the perfection of human intelligence and integrity, we shall incur the rebuke of the poet, who did not pronounce *them* absolutely wise, who, in order to escape one extreme, run into the opposite. There is indeed but little choice between two equal evils. But if a system, which admits, and indeed requires the supposition of a providence and an equitable arrangement of the eventual fortunes of moral beings, be preferable to one, which denies or nullifies both, even the ruthless papalism of Pius is more rational, more virtuous, and perhaps more

humane, than the cold, heartless, philosophism, or intellectual libertinism, which, with equal fatuity and irreligion, decrees, that man is no more responsible for his faith than for the hue of his skin *, and which sees no difference—between spiritual slavery and spiritual liberty; between a false and a true way of salvation; between substantial al-

* It does not seem to be sufficiently understood, that deviation either way from rational faith or belief, substantially identifies two very opposite characters. However paradoxical it may appear, he who believes too much is qualified for so doing by believing too little in the opposite direction, and he who believes too little is qualified for so doing by an opposite over-belief. The weakness of both characters is identical. Respecting an allied subject, toleration, it is observable, that *unlimited* toleration destroys itself; for then it must tolerate intolerance. This Locke saw, and therefore *limited* the doctrine so as completely to spoil it for those who are most addicted to an appeal to his authority on the subject. This circumstance rendered his noble biographer wonderfully quiescent respecting his immortal letter; for against *the intolerant sect* it is as intolerant as a Protestant could wish, and in the original Latin as well as the English. There is a respectable portion of an erring class, who spurn at the very term toleration, as an insult upon intellectual liberty. They do not always distinguish so carefully as they should, between the *private* adoption, and *public* enunciation of doctrines; for, in the latter case, and in some instances, they would not probably consider the interference of authority as altogether unjustifiable. The public display and defence of licentious principles of morality, with accompanying grossness, they would utterly condemn, and restrain by the arm of the civil power. Offences against public decency are intolerable, and to be coerced, and, if nothing else will prevail, punished—the very existence of society depends upon such repression. But, good my friends, do you not perceive that you have unwittingly deserted your own ranks, and gone over to those of your opponents—the intolerants?

though Christianized idolatry, and the strict reservation of divine honour to Deity alone; between a system bursting with a plethory of superstitions, and a rational, decorous, and edifying ritual; between the assertion, and the repudiation of human merits before God; between observances naturally and practically tending to the encouragement of future offence, and such as proclaim no indulgences but those of heaven to penitents and believers; between a self-contradictory and untaught dogma, derived from a barbarized human philosophy, and a spiritual sacrament ordained by the Saviour for the edification of his church; finally, between the creed of Pius the Fourth, bishop of Rome, received by the whole papacy, and the creed of the Scriptures, the supreme and exclusive rule of faith of all Protestant England.

But the reflexion which will predominantly impress the mind of the observer of the present life is the strong resemblance, almost amounting to identity, between the character of Michele Ghislieri, pontiff of Rome, and Saul, the Pharisee, up to the period of his conversion. The same superstitious observance of the ceremonies of a corrupted church; the same bigoted attachment to its

peculiar external constitution and doctrines, and the same savage and unrelenting zeal in imposing it upon others, and in persecuting those who sought for nothing but release from its corrupt accretions, animated the breast, and actuated the conduct of these two remarkable characters; and he, who, when penitent, described his former self as a calumniator, a persecutor, and outrageous, was a strict prototype of him who maintained that character to his parting breath. There wanted but one point in the resemblance to make it complete. The rigid and intolerant Pharisee, instead of performing the subordinate part of executing the commands of a high priest of his own church, should have been high priest himself, and issued his mandates to the more active and elevated under his authority, to seize, to bind, to imprison, to stone, if not to burn, the humble, conscientious, and exemplary disciples and followers of the Lord Jesus Christ, the predicted and expected Messiah. This eminence was not obtained by *him*, who attained the far more glorious, although spiritual, one, of a convert to the religion, and an apostle of the Saviour, both of whom he had persecuted.

And happy, indeed, would it have been for

him, who was really high priest, Pontifex Maximus, of the, originally, Christian church of Rome, had he followed the example of Saul in his repentance and conversion, as well as in his prior state. Had the voice of conscience, which is now a voice from heaven, a voice from the crucified one, exclaimed, *Pius, Pius! why persecutest thou me?* and that voice, instructing as well as alarming him, had worked its object so effectually, as to make him lay down his triple crown, quit his falsely-assumed apostolic throne, renounce the creed of a brother-pope warring with the creed of Christianity, and abjure the whole mass of doctrine, in whose substance pure and impure were so kneaded up that their separation was impracticable, and humbly retire to a private station, where he might believe and live as a Christian, if that might be; or, if not, die as a martyr to the faith; or escape, for his life, to some distant and secure spot, where he might bear his testimony against the iniquity which he had known and left, and prosecute the duties which are enjoined in the written word of God—we should behold in the act an instance of truly heroic and almost apostolic virtue, which would deserve a monument in every Christian heart.

Pius would then have found, that he had parted with the superb nullities and abominations of an idolatrous church, to become a member and partaker of the pure and substantial mercies of the church of the living God. He might have been the object and mark of thunderbolts which himself had formerly hurled, and be consigned to Italian curses, flames, and perdition: but he would have obtained peace with God and been able, with truth, to rejoice in his love. His beads, his rosaries, his blessed medals, his Agnus Deis, and all the other spiritual toys and trinkets of the corruptress of Christendom, he would contentedly have left to the moles and bats, who love not the light. Even his manufactured crucifix of silver or ivory would be forgotten in the knowledge which he had acquired of the true and exalted crucified one, in whose intercession and advocacy he would now exclusively trust. The absolution of a fellow mortal he would have ceased to value, when he practically learned that none can forgive sins but God only, and had ground to hope, from the sanctification actually produced by divine influence in his soul, and a faith which justifies from all offences, that He, who alone can impart true pardon, had

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imparted *that* pardon to him. The world, or worlds, of indulgences with which the Fisherman of Rome baits his hook to catch souls, with the inexhaustible sea of merits from which rivers of pardon flow to the extremities of the earth, would be fables upon which he would have looked back with repentance, pity, and grief; and, if possible, would have drawn all his former subjects to the waters of life, and the only fountain which can cleanse from sin. He would have detested, as really idolatrous, the worship, by whatever name and with whatever distinction disguised, paid to the Virgin Mary and departed saints or angels; owning and needing no other Saviour than the almighty all-sufficient one revealed in the word of truth. The last hold of the deluded votary of his rejected faith, extreme unction, though believed to settle the last running account of venial sin, since the last confession and absolution which cancelled the mortal, he would have degraded from the rank, not only of a sacrament, but of an entity, and consoled himself that he had that unction from the Holy One, which was the earnest both of his complete pardon and of his title to the future heavenly inheritance. Above all, to his latest breath, while reason

remained, he would have flung from his memory, and expunged, if possible, from existence, *that* which was the dearest occupation of his life, the false accusations, the violent seizure, the mock trial, the barbarous condemnation, torturing and burning, of God's saints, by the atrociously misnomered holy tribunal; and only have supported himself against despair by the assurance that the door of mercy was just left open for those who did such things ignorantly in unbelief. Neither beatification nor canonization after his death would he, in the case supposed, ever have received; but neither would he have wanted or valued them; and the idolatrous prayer appointed for his supposed honour he would have spurned with utter indignation and disgust. In short, if he lost all things, he would have won Christ; and had his earthly career been terminated at a stake prepared for him by his own former church, he would have triumphed amidst the flames and bodily torment; and, like the first of martyrs esteemed a heretic, and like many others since like him esteemed heretics, would have prayed for his murderers till his released soul went into the presence and en-

joyment of his God and Saviour, to await the public manifestation of the sons of God.

But these are visions in which our imagination cannot be allowed to indulge itself, and we must close the book of the life of Pius with the lessons in which the truth of that life instructs us, and, among others, with the needed and salutary conviction which it impresses—that it is of the essence of the Roman Catholic system to assume the same character and attitude, as it did under this pontiff, whenever it is associated with power, and in exact proportion to the degree in which it is so associated. Let it be remembered, that the two last of the few popes who have received the honour of canonization in their church, Gregory VII. and Pius V., are precisely the individuals of that dignity who most signalized themselves by asserting and exercising the assumed right in the spiritual sovereign of Rome, of deposing temporal sovereigns from their throne; and that, although the attempt by the latter to execute it in this kingdom was providentially frustrated, the doctrine itself still stands upon a foundation reputed divine in the Roman world—is sanctioned by the authority of a

general and admitted council—and is so far from having been disavowed or repealed, that, in the highest organs of literary censure in the Roman church, her own Prohibitory Indexes, while the contrary doctrine has been carefully watched and strangled, this continues to enjoy the uninterrupted sunshine both of connivance and of virtual, amounting to positive approbation *.

* See Digest of Evidence on State of Ireland, by Phelan and O'Sullivan, part ii. pp. 180—2, where the main assertion is substantiated against the sophistic evasion of the Maynooth Class-book, and Bossuet.

APPENDIX.

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Alleged Cruelties of Protestants examined.

It has indeed been objected by Dr. Curry, and by my grandfather, in his letter to *Hume*, that the Irish were provoked to massacres by *the forfeitures* in Ulster ; that the rage of the Inquisition was so boundless as to extend even to the *dead* ; exhibiting a new species of contention, wherein the piety of one party exerted itself in stealing the remains of their deceased relatives to the tombs of their fathers, and the malignant zeal of the other proved equally vigilant to detect the theft, *digging up those remains*, as unworthy of Christian interment, and throwing them into pits made for that purpose near the highways, after driving *stakes through their bodies* ; that friars and priests were so persecuted, that *two of them hanged themselves* in their own defence ; and that the poor were so persecuted for the tax of one shilling on Sundays, as to fly for safety into dens and caverns, whither they were pursued by blood-hounds !—Countrymen ! *Is this history ?*—

‘ To take advantage of the *ignorance* of mankind, for the propagation of falsehood, aggravates the guilt.’—‘ If any flatter themselves that they do not propagate falsehood by a mutilated and disingenuous disclosure of truth, they must be informed, that men who *manage* history in this *Castabala* way,’ (Dr. Conor alludes to Dr. Milner,) ‘ are far removed from that simplicity of character which gives a favourable idea of their integrity ; that they assume a studied appearance, which cannot escape the penetrating eye of a *Hume* ; that they are supposed to have other ends in view, far different from those which they avow ; and that he who does not declare the

whole truth must have a reason for concealing that *portion* of it, which he takes so much care to withhold.'—

'Now I maintain, that the forfeitures of Ulster were the *consequences*, not the causes of Rebellions; that *Tirone, Tirconnel, Maguire, and O'Dogherty*, had repeatedly violated their *oaths of allegiance*;' 'that those Irish who were not notoriously involved in their treasons were not expelled; that the forfeited lands amounted' 'to two millions of acres, and that not more than 250,682 were disposed of to the new planters, of whom *many thousands* were Catholics!' &c. &c. Lynch says, 'that whenever any material injury was offered to Catholics, Nugent, Lord Westmeath, inquired for a vessel to take him to England for redress,' and frequently went himself, for which 'he was invidiously nicknamed *Nugent the messenger*.'

Those who exaggerate the partial and transitory gusts of passion of those times, seldom or never mention the provocations of the foreign-influenced clergy, in whose conduct and principles they originated; neither are they accurate in their dates; and in some instances they treacherously antedate the facts of which they complain, in order to make it appear that no provocations preceded them! insinuating that these persecutions were not provoked by any misconduct on the part of the Catholics, but owing entirely to *Anti-papistical* malignity. Thus they refer the *Proclamation* of 1629 to 1626 *, and they omit the provocations which caused it! In order to come at the truth, we must recur to originals, confront the Protestant with the Catholic, and mistrust both. *Hammond l'Estrange* is the first who mentions the story of two friars hanging themselves in *their own defence*; and this story, which he gives with a sneer, and Borlace from him, is gravely copied from the latter by Curry, as an *Historical Fact*!!' 'Some of the foreign-influenced clergy went so far as to threaten with

* Curry's Dialogue, pp. 12, 13.

excommunication any Catholic who voted for a Protestant member of parliament; to administer oaths extra-judicially upon the altar; and to deny sacraments in civil causes,' &c.

'Nothing can injure a good cause more than a disingenuous manner of relating only *one part* of an historical fact, and suppressing the other. This is the *Castabalaism* of those scurrilous and calumniating libels, which have at all times characterized the foreign-influenced press, and brought such unmerited obloquy on the religion and the history of our ancestors.'

'The nobility were not persecuted; the gentry were not persecuted. The foreign-influenced friars and bishops, whose principles caused so much obloquy to their religion, were; but they provoked persecution by their conduct, and they inflamed hatred by their principles.'—*Historical Address, &c.*, part ii. pp. 292-308.

After such admissions and exposures as these, who does not at once see how little confidence, independently of evidence rigorously required and examined, is to be placed in the statements made by Romanists of alleged persecutions or cruelties against their own communion? But how strongly do the foregoing representations recall to our mind the scene so graphically related by Tacitus, in the first book of his *Annals*, when a soldier in the Pannonian legions, taking the lead in a sedition, accused his commander of having made away with, and concealed, the body of his brother, in order to excite the compassion and indignation of his comrades! 'Answer me, Blæsus, where have you thrown the body? even an enemy does not deny the honour of sepulture: when I have indulged my grief with kisses and tears, order me also to be despatched;' and so he went on, inflaming the minds of the rest to acts of violence, till it was discovered that he had no brother; and then all became calm again; cap. xx. xxiii. But, in truth, our Roman Catholic brethren ought to begin to look a little after their own

credit, for it is at a very low ebb indeed, even with those who do not wish to be obliged to think harshly of them.

There is a passage, however, in Dr. O'Connor's work, which appears first in his *Columbanus ad Hibernos*, No. IV., requiring some observation of a less laudatory description. At page 100, he has adopted from Gibbon the calumny against Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, that falsehood may be used for a good end; grounding the charge upon the title of the 31st chapter of the xiith book of the *Præparatio Evangelica*. *Ὅτι δεήσει ποτε τῷ ψεύδει ἀντὶ φαρμάκου χρῆσθαι ἐπὶ ὠφελείᾳ τῶν δεομένων τοῦ τοιούτου τρόπου.* I presume the quotation, with its inference, was adopted from Gibbon, in whose *Vindication*, &c., in the fourth volume of his *Miscellaneous Works*, ed. 1814, page 630, it appears. That turgid and superficial, as well as unprincipled writer, has taken care not to allow the bishop the benefit of explaining his own meaning. Otherwise he would not have concealed from the reader the few words, in which Eusebius has adduced as examples from scripture, or the Pentateuch, the representations of the Deity, as moved by human affections, as being jealous, or angry, or sleeping, &c. Gibbon had a natural and most orthodox antipathy against the first ecclesiastical historian. He has vented it with some ingenuity and force in the conclusion of the last of his anti-christian chapters in his history. Great advantage is there made, as the foundation of doubt respecting the veracity of Eusebius, of the supposed discrepancy, between Paolo Sarpi and Grotius, in their account of the number of the victims of Papal persecution;—a discrepancy for which the English historian is solely indebted to his own ignorance or oscitancy; for the writers are speaking of different subjects. Grotius has unfortunately used the larger number, and therefore becomes the fulcrum upon which the lever to destroy the credit of Eusebius is placed. But even upon the supposition of his exaggeration and the legitimacy of the inference, why should we bound the

operation of the argument? Why must not the credit of all historians fall in the universal ruin? And if Grotius be convicted of exaggeration—to adopt somewhat of the strain of the great historian of the *Decline and Fall* himself—shall we not be naturally led to inquire, what confidence can be placed in the perverse fabrications of heathen malignity; what degree of credit can be assigned to a bigoted unbeliever, and an insidious falsifier of history, who, under the protection of a public, indifferent to religion, or hating it, has assumed the exclusive privilege of recording the wholesome severities inflicted on the Christians by the agents, and at the command of their gracious sovereigns?

The note, which the foregoing observations are intended to illustrate, was written before I looked into a work of rather unusual occurrence, and probably meant for circulation only among friends—Illustria Ecc. Cath. Tophoea, printed in Munich, 1573, the concluding portion of which is entitled, *Furores Gallici*; and, as it contains the whole matter found in Verstegan and Gabutius, it is probably the original, if not the only source, from which the last of the principal biographers of Pius derived representations, unknown to, or disdained by the first. The relation, indeed, appears to be of English or Jesuited English origin and manufacture, and possessing about the average claim to credit of the productions from that quarter. The author, from the date of his book, had an opportunity of portraying the *Furores Gallici* of St. Bartholomew's day, 1572; but he wisely preferred the *Furores of fable* to the *Furores of truth*.

I know I had respectable bibliographical authority for calling Verstegan's *Theat. Crudel.* of 1592, the first edition; but if a copy in Mr. Thorpe's Catalogue for 1832, part iii. be correctly described, there was a prior edition in 1587.

Dilectis Filiis, Thomæ Comiti Northumbriæ, et Carolo Comiti Westemerlandiæ in Angliâ.

Dilecti Filii, nobiles viri, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Ex litteris vestris VIII. Novembris die ad nos datis, quibus XVI. Februarii ad nos allatis subito rescripsimus, istius florentissimi Regni miseras et calamitates, ne antea quidem nobis incognitas, certius subtiliusque cognoscentes, eo animi dolore affecti sumus, quem et eorum malorum quæ in vobis patimur indignitas, et paternus noster erga vos cæterosque Catholicos in isto Regno viros animus nobis afferre debuit. Nam præter illud commune Pastoralis charitatis officium, quo in omnium Christi fidelium, singularumque Provinciarum in quibus nomen colitur Christianum, salute vel calamitate lætari aut dolere debemus; præcipuâ quadam amoris benevolentiaque prærogativâ erga istud Regnum afficimur, quod beatissimi Gregorii Romani Pontificis prædecessoris nostri post Deum Omnipotentem operâ atque industriâ a cultu lignorum ac lapidum aliquando ad Christianam Fidem conversum, moribus doctrinâque Catholicâ per idoneos viros isthuc ab eo missos institutum esse meminimus; quodque egregiam fidem devotionisque sinceritatem Apostolicæ Sedi præstare consueverat. Itaque quantopere vestris Regnique istius malis his, quæ eisdem litteris non minus vere quam miserabiliter deploravistis, doleamus ac conturbemur, non facile verbis consequi possemus. Dolemus tot tantaque nefariarum hæresum venena, tamque mortifera Reipublicæ Christianæ vulnera, in nostri Pontificatus tempora potissimum incidisse: conturbamur, quia de vestro cæterorumque Catholicorum periculo solliciti esse cogimur. Sed tamen cum ejus orationis efficaciam recordamur, qui pro B. Petro, ne ejus deficeret fides, rogavit, quique Ecclesiam suam in tribulatione dilatans, eo admirabilius occulti sui consilii providentiâ gubernat, quo magis eam perturbationum fluctibus cernit agitari; non desperamus, quin quod aliis tem-

poribus factum esse accepimus, idem nostris quoque, adjuvante Domino, fieri possit: ut quæ hæreticorum invalescente persecutione sæpe visa fuerit conculcari, hæc eadem, Domino cum eâ signum in bonum faciente, in antiquæ felicitatis statum redeat; et in eo incrementum accipiat, in quo visa sit detrimentum pertulisse. Ecce enim nunc, qui ex veteribus nova, et ex novis vetera facit, Dominus noster JESUS CHRISTUS, per vos charissimos viros non minus generis nobilitate quam Catholicæ pietatis studio insignes, veterem Ecclesiæ Romanæ Regniq; istius conjunctionem renovare et confirmare fortasse constituit; ac propterea mentem istam vestræ Fidei Catholicæ zelo dignissimam vobis iniecit, ut vos, Regnumque istud ex turpissima muliebris libidinis servitute ereptum, ad pristinam hujus sanctæ Romanæ Sedis obedientiam revocare tentaretis. Quem quidem piam ac religiosum animi vestri conatum, sicut æquum est, debitis in Domino laudibus commendantes, et eâ, quam petitis, benedictione nostra prosequentes, Nobilitates vestras ad nostram hujusque sacrosanctæ Sedis, cujus se auctoritati subjiciunt, potestatem tutelamque confugientes, eâ qua decet benignitate recipimus atque excipimus: hortantes vos in Domino, et quo majore possumus animi nostri studio rogantes, ut in hac tam egregia voluntate laudabilique instituto vestro constanter perseveretis; pro comperto habentes, Omnipotentem Deum, cujus perfecta sunt opera, quique vos ad bene de Religione Catholica in isto Regno merendum excitavit, vobis auxilio suo affuturum. Quod si etiam in asserenda Catholica Fide, hujusque sanctæ Sedis auctoritate, mors esset vobis opetenda, profundendusque sanguis, multo præstat pro Dei confessione gloriosæ mortis compendio ad æternam vitam convolare, quam turpiter et ignominiose viventes impotentis foeminæ cupiditati cum animæ vestræ detrimento servire. Nolite enim putare, dilecti Filii in CHRISTO, male cum illis vel Episcopis vel Principibus istius Regni Catholicis, quos nominatis, actum esse: qui, quoniam a Fidei Catholicæ confessione

deficere noluerunt, aut in carceres coniecti aut aliis suppliciis immerentes affecti sunt: horum enim constantiam, etiam nunc recenti, ut arbitramur, beati Thomæ Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis exemplo confirmatam, nemo satis pro dignitate laudare potest. Hanc eandem vos quoque imitati, forti constantique animo estote, nec ullorum periculorum denuntiatione aut minis ab incepto desistite: potens est enim Deus, in quo spem vestram repositam habere debetis, qui Pharaonis currum et exercitum ejus projecit in mare, adversariorum suorum vires potentiamque frangere, sic ut per vos pristina Religio et antiqua dignitas isti Regno restituatur. Quod quidem ut fiat, nos non solum his quæ postulatis apud eos quos vultis Christianos Principes fungendis officiis adjuvabimus; sed etiam eâ pecuniæ summa in præsentia conferenda, quam pro nostris viribus petentibus vobis suppeditare poterimus; quemadmodum a dilecto Filio Roberto Rodulfo clarius et copiosius intelligetis; datura quoque operam, ut aliquanto etiam majorem, quam quantum virium nostrarum imbecillitas ferre potest, conferamus, piumque conatum vestrum omnibus, quibus cum Domino poterimus rebus facultatibusque nostris, prompto atque alacri animo adjuvemus.—Datum Romæ apud sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, die xx. Februarii, M.D.LXX. Pontificatus nostri anno quinto.—Goubau, lib. iv. ep. x.

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Damatio et excommunicatio Elisabeth Reginæ Angliæ, eique adhærentium, cum aliarum pœnarum adjectione.

PIUS EPISCOPUS,

Servus Servorum Dei: Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.

Regnans in excelsis, cui data est omnis in Cœlo et in terra potestas, unam sanctam Catholicam et Apostolicam Ecclesiam, extra quam nulla est salus, uni soli in terris, videlicet Aposto-

lorum Principi Petro, Petrique successori Romano Pontifici, in potestatis plenitudine tradidit gubernandam. Hunc unum super omnes gentes, et omnia regna Principem constituit, qui evellat, destruat, dissipet, disperdat, plantet, et ædificet, ut fidelem Populum mutuae charitatis nexu constrictum, in unitate Spiritus contineat, salvumque et incolumem suo exhibeat Salvatori.

§ 1. Quo quidem in munere obeundo, nos ad prædictæ Ecclesiæ gubernacula Dei benignitate vocati, nullum laborem intermittimus, omni opera contententes, ut ipsa unitas, et Catholica Religio (quam illius auctor ad probandam suorum fidem, et correctionem nostram, tantis procellis conflictari permisit) integra conservetur. Sed impiorum numerus tantum potentiâ invaluit, ut nullus jam in Orbe locus sit relictus, quem illi pessimis doctrinis corrumpere non tentarint, adnitentē inter cæteros flagitiorum serva Elisabeth prætensa Angliæ regina, ad quam veluti ad asylum omnium infestissimi profugium invenerunt. Hæc eadem, regno occupato, supremi Ecclesiæ capitis locum, in omni Anglia, ejusque præcipuam auctoritatem atque jurisdictionem monstruose sibi usurpans, regnum ipsum jam tum ad fidem Catholicam et bonam frugem reductum, rursus in miserum exitium revocavit.

§ 2. Usu namque veræ Religionis, quam ab illius desertore Henrico VIII. olim eversam, claræ mem. Maria regina legitima, hujus Sedis præsidio reparaverat, potenti manu inhibito, secutisque et amplexis Hæreticorum erroribus, regium consilium ex Anglica nobilitate confectum diremit, illudque obscuris hominibus hæreticis complevit, Catholicæ fidei cultores oppressit, improbos concionatores, atque impietatum administros, reposuit, Missæ sacrificium, preces, jejunia, ciborum delectum, coelibatum, ritusque Catholicos abolevit; libros manifestam hæresim continentes, toto regno proponi, impia mysteria, et instituta ad Calvinii præscriptum a se suscepta, et observata, etiam a subditis servari mandavit. Episcopos, Ecclesiarum Rectores, et alios Sacerdotes Catholicos, suis Ecclesiis, et be-

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neficiis ejicere, ac de illis et aliis rebus Ecclesiasticis, in hæreticos homines disponere, deque Ecclesiæ causis decernere ausa, Prælati, Clero, et Populo, ne Romanam Ecclesiam agnoscerent, neve ejus præceptis, sanctionibusque Canonicis obtemperarent, interdixit; plerosque in nefarias leges suas venire, et Romani Pontificis auctoritatem atque obedientiam abjurare, seque solam, in temporalibus et spiritualibus dominam agnoscere jurejurando coëgit, poenas et supplicia in eos, qui dicto non essent audientes, imposuit, easdemque ab iis, qui in unitate fidei, et prædicta obedientia perseverarunt, exegit. Catholicos Antistites, et Ecclesiarum Rectores in vincula conjecit, ubi multi diuturno languore et tristitia confecti, extremum vitæ diem misere finiverunt. Quæ omnia cum apud omnes nationes perspicua et notoria sint, et gravissimo quamplurimorum testimonio ita comprobata, ut nullus omnino locus excusationis, defensionis, aut tergiversationis relinquatur.

§ 3. Nos multiplicantibus aliis, atque aliis super alias impietatibus, et facinoribus, et præterea fidelium persecutione, Religionisque afflictione, impulsu et opera d. Elisabeth quotidie magis ingrevascente, quoniam illius animum ita obfirmatum atque induratum intelligimus ut non modo pias Catholicorum Principum de sanitate et conversione preces, monitionesque contempserit, sed ne hujus quidem Sedis ad ipsam hac de causa Nuncios in Angliam trajicere permiserit, ad arma justitiæ contra eam de necessitate conversi, dolorem lenire non possumus, quod adducamur in unam animadvertere, cujus majores de Republica Christiana tantopere meruere. Illius itaque auctoritate suffulti, qui nos in hoc supremo justitiæ throno, licet tanto onere impares, voluit collocare, de Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine declaramus prædictam Elisabeth hæreticam, et hæreticorum fautricem, eique adhærentes in prædictis, anathematis sententiam incurrisse, esseque a Christi corporis unitate præcisos.

§ 4. Quin etiam ipsam prætenso regni prædicti jure, nec-

non omni et quocumque dominio, dignitate, privilegioque privatam.

§ 5. Et item proceres, subditos, et populos d. Regni, ac cæteros omnes qui illi quomodocumque juraverunt, a juramento hujusmodi, ac omni prorsus dominii fidelitatis, et obsequii debito, perpetuo absolutos, prout nos illos præsentium auctoritate absolvimus, et privamus eandem Elisabeth prætenso jure Regni, aliisque omnibus supradictis. Præcipimusque et interdiciamus universis et singulis proceribus, subditis populis, et aliis prædictis, ne illi ejusve monitis, mandatis et legibus audeant obedire. Qui secus egerint, eos simili anathematis sententia innodamus.

§ 6. Quia vero difficile nimis esset, præsentibus quocumque illis opus erit perferre, volumus, ut earum exempla, Notarii publici manu, et Prælati Ecclesiastici, ejusve Curie sigillo obsignata, eandem illam prorsus fidem in judicio et extra illud, ubique gentium faciant, quam ipsæ præsentibus facerent, si essent exhibitæ vel ostensæ.

Dat. Rom. apud S. Petr. anno Incarn. Dominicæ 1570. 5. Kal. Maii, Pont. nostri anno 5.—Magnum Bull. Rom. Ludg. 1655, tom. ii. p. 303.

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Catherinæ Reginae, Matri Christianissimi Gallorum Regis.

Charissima nostra in CHRISTO Filia, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Beneficiorum, præsertim afflictis in rebus atque in periculis acceptorum, memorem sese præbere, non solum Principes decet, sed illis est id quoque valde necessarium: sic enim et aliis in ejusmodi difficultatibus animus additur in posterum, et ii qui male se gesserint, non sine suo dedecore meritis poenis afficiuntur. Nullam porro nos virtutem hac ipsa grati animi majorem æstimamus: quâ efficitur, ut

S 2

non modo terrena Regna stabiliantur, sed efferatæ ac barbaræ quæque gentes arctiori amoris vinculo consociantur. Debet igitur Majestas tua in hac cogitatione sibi constare, neque pati ut inanibus Protestantium hæreticorum pollicitationibus eâ bonâ de mente deducaris, quam antea prætulisti Anglicis Optimatibus, atque iis omnibus, qui Scotorum Reginæ partes sustinent, protegendis: ex quibus, ut perspicuum est, penderit tranquillitas Gallicarum rerum, quæ absque illorum ope proximis temporibus in magnis plane periculis versabantur. Etenim quando Admiralius Colignius acie instructus, multis, quæ illi submittebat Anglia, fulciebatur auxiliis, eodem tempore si pessima illa Regina se Colignio favere aperte declarasset (quod inhibitum fuit ne Protestantium artibus accideret) proculdubio Galliarum Regnum in maximum ruinæ discrimen incurrisset. Quamobrem ex Anglia nobiles complures, solum ut Christianissimam Majestatem cæterosque Catholicos, Mottæ Antistite ejus in Anglia oratore suadente, Robertoque Rodulpho intercedente, sustentarent, perversis improbæ illius fœminæ consiliis obstiterunt; atque tum aperte tum clanculo perfecerunt, ne tam duro Gallia conflagraret incendio. Atque hujus quidem rei optimus testis esse potest ipse Mottensis Antistes: cui nomine nonnullorum Principum ex ipsis Optimatibus Rodulphus enuntiavit, Majestatem Christianissimam posse in eorum studiis conquiescere. Nam se curaturos, quod deinde curarunt, ne Anglorum quam vocant Regina illi se hostem aperte profiteretur. Quod si facere illa voluisset, sese illi opposituros esse, ejusque conatibus summis viribus adversaturos: eâ tamen lege, ut Galliarum Rex se illis auxilio fore, Scotiæque Reginæ legitime ipsis imperantis caussam omnino defensurum polliceretur. Quod quidem desponsum est, atque illis Christianissimæ Majestatis nomine ab Antistite Mottensi renuntiatum: scilicet illis per omnem occasionem suppetias latum iri, ipsis Nobilibus ad moliendum novas res excitandis, atque interim duobus hominum millibus mittendis in Scotiam.

Quod etiam fieri cœptum est, exercitu per speciem in Angliam mature comparato: sed postquam Rex voti sui compos est factus, atque cum Admiralio rediit in gratiam, illi ipsi deserti sunt. Ac licet sæpius fuerit postulatum, tamen illis promissa minime servata sunt. Quin etiam spe quadam ducebantur, fore ut certo tempore nonnulla fierent ac dicerentur; neque futurum cogitabant, ut, si ob res inde gestas nobiles ipsi perderentur, Regnum istud in easdem incideret difficultates: cum præsertim nemo nesciat, Elisabetham Regiæ isti Majestati promissa non esse perfecturam, vigente pessimo quo utitur consilio, suadentium non posse eam tuto regnare, nisi quantum in se est, Galliæ Belgique Protestantium causam tueatur. Itaque levissimâ quaque sumptû occasione, non habens illa qui ejus prava temperare consilia queat, facile se Galliarum hostem esse palam demonstrabit. Quo quidem tempore Majestas tua plane cognosceret, quam ingens in se detrimentum recideret ex tot nobilium Anglorum factâ jacturâ; qui si protegantur, magno erunt Galliæ præsidio. Adhæc autem, deseri nullo pacto debet causa Scotorum Reginæ, cui Majestas tua et affinitatis et antiqui fœderis jure plurimum debet. Quod si, volente Deo, Anglicum illa Regnum obtineret, Gallicos tumultus nunquam sane pateretur: neque fieri posset, ut ea insula veniret in ditionem Principis alicujus ex Protestantibus, qui proculdubio Galliam, ac reliquam omnem rem Christianam vexare non desisteret. Galliæ vero Protestantes, quamvis eos Majestas tua in pace contineat, perpetua tamen habent in Angliam commercia; eamque Reginam admonent earum rerum, quæ non modo in Gallia, sed etiam in toto orbe Christiano geruntur. Atque hisce artibus magis ac magis confirmantur indies, ut exitiosa consilia sua aliquando possint obtegere, nefariasque cupiditates explorare. Quod utinam cito non videamus! Etenim nobis exploratum est, illos, eo quod habent in Angliam subsidio munitos, coacervandis pecuniis continenter operam dare; quas præter stata ac publica vectigalia, quæ ex

Anglicis cogunt Ecclesiis, ex latrociniis quoque et Catholicorum bonis ad mare direptis colligere consueverunt. Quod sane damnum incredibile est, redarguitque vehementer omnium Principum conscientiam id mali non avertentium, siquidem liquido constat, Protestantes illos propriis Catholicorum bonis armatos bellum renovaturos, idque primo quoque tempore haud dubie facturos; cum non satis tutos se fore arbitrentur, nisi quatenus Christianissimam Majestatem implicitam tenuerint, eandemque sui ipsorum auxilii necessario indigere, ac per speciem Gallici Regni fines amplificandi in Hispaniam bellum inferre curaverint: idque ad ipsorum factionem magis constabiliendam, adigendumque Regem, ut cum ipsis moderatius se gerat. Quod si Anglia, cujus ope ipsi maxime nituntur, undeque subsidia cuncta petere perpetuo solent ab illis aliquando fuerit abalienata, fovendis Optimatibus illis et populis, qui ad Catholicæ virtutis lucem redire desiderant, fieret ut Christianissima Majestas tutior esset ab hostibus, qui eam assidue circumsistunt, ac fortasse contra illam conjurant. Quin ipsa Regno suo toti liberius imperaret, atque universo terrarum orbi magis quam unquam antea se terribilem præberet; ac præterea Deo pergratum faceret, quodque sui muneris est egregie præstaret. Quæ cum ita sint, debes omnino iis stare promissis, quibus te ipsa jam obligasti, nobisque spondidisti, ad universæ Christianæ rei salutem. In quo si fuerit ipsis Optimatibus satisfactum, poteris ipsa deinceps rationes excogitare, quibus commodius fieri possit, ut in Regnum illud Regina Scotia succedat, ac magno Catholicæ Religionis beneficio nobiscum ineat belli societatem. Quandoquidem quæcumque a nobis dari subsidia poterunt, ea desiderari non patiemur, ac magnam eorum partem jam comparavimus: neque aliud quidquam præstolamur, nisi ut consilia sua expediat Majestas tua, quæ, præter sibi a Deo in futura vita reposita præmia, gloriam apud homines inde referet immortalem. Quod reliquum est Sancti Populi Episcopus coram explicabit:

qui tum de hac ipsa re, tum etiam de fœdere universæ Christianæ Reipublicæ tantopere necessario, aliisque de rebus ad istius Regni utilitatem pertinentibus, nostro nomine cum Majestate tua fusius tractabit. Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, xviii. Kalend. Januarii, M.D.LXXI. Pontificatus nostri anno sexto.—Goubau, lib. v. ep. 10.

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FRATER PHILIPPUS MULART DECRETORUM DOCTOR SACRI ET APOSTOLICI HOSPITALIS SANCTI SPIRITUS IN SAXIA de urbe Romana ac totius ejusdem ordinis ad regna Anglie, Ibernæ, &c., generalis Commissarius et Vicarius tam auctoritate apostolica quam hospitalis et ordinis predictorum specialiter deputatus. Universis et singulis nostras presentes testimoniales literas intuentibus fidem facimus, quod sanctissimus in Christo pater et dominus noster dominus Leo divina providentia Papa X., ut concessis spiritualium gratiarum muneribus pro salute animarum invitaret Christi fideles ad misericordie et caritatis opera confirmavit, ampliavit, et extendit omnes gratias facultates plenissimas indulgentias et peccatorum remissiones concessas Apostolico hospitali Sancti Spiritus in Saxia de urbe et ejus membris tam per felicitis recordationis Sixtum Papam IV., quam alios suos predecessores Romanos pontifices, et inter cetera quicumque devotione motus in sanctam confraternitatem dicti hospitalis a Sixto quarto institutam: et a prefato sanctissimo domino nostro Leone Papa X., extensam intraverit, et de bonis suis per pietatis, caritatis, et misericordie operibus dicti hospitalis et totius ordinis manus adiutrices juxta suas facultates et devotionem porrexerit consequeretur gratiam et facultatem a sancta sede apostolica: ut presbiterum secularem vel regularem in suum confessorem eligere possit qui ejus confessione diligenter audita semel vita comite ab omnibus criminibus et peccatis

necnon excommunicationis et aliis sensuris et sententiis ecclesiasticis etiam occasione symonie ubicunque contracte et ab aliis casibus specialiter vel generaliter Romano pontifici et sedi apostolice quovismodo reservatis et propter quos sedes ipsa merito esset consulenda. Præterquam heresis, rebellionis aut conspirationis in personam vel statum Romani pontificis et offense personalis in sancte Romane ecclesie Cardinalem, Patriarcham, Archiepiscopum, et Episcopum ac presbitericidii eum absolvat. Necnon ab irregularitate quovismodo contracta etiam in casibus in jure expressis vel non expressis Bigamia et homicidio voluntario duntaxat exceptis tam super ordinibus sacris quam beneficiis retinendis vel recipiendis in foro conscientie libere et licite dispensare possit et valeat. Et etiam in mortis articulo (sic) plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum etiam supra exceptorum remissionem ei impendere possit. Ita quod si tunc non obierit quoties in tali mortis articulo fuerit constitutus, idem vel alius sacerdos eandem reiterare possit; in aliis vero casibus totiens quotiens oportuum fuerit eum absolvat et penitentiam injungat salutarem. Et si tempore interdicti ecclesiastici quovismodo etiam a sede apostolica impositi eum decedere contigerit dummodo causam non dederit interdicto ecclesiastice sepulture tradi debeat: absque tamen funeris pompa sicut solitum est fieri de corporibus clericorum interdictum servantium. Atque in dedicationibus et stationibus sancte Romane ecclesie et pontificalibus benedictionibus indulgentias quascunque etiam plenarias consequatur in forma ecclesie consueta: dando illam elemosinam (sic) per subventionem dicti hospitalis quam in prefatis stationibus et indulgentiis ex devotione contulisset si eas personaliter visitasset. Efficiturque particeps tam vivus quam defunctus omnium indulgentiarum que sunt Rome a pena et culpa quinquagenarie et peregrinationis terre sancte ac omnium missarum, orationum, vigiliarum, jejuniorum, elemosinarum et aliorum quorumcunque bonorum operum que

fiunt et fient in toto ordine sancti Spiritus im (sic) perpetuum. Item multe gratie, indulgentie, et peccatorum remissiones certis anni diebus et temporibus eidem sunt concesse que hic brevitatis causa omittuntur que quidem continentur et legi possunt in summario a vera bulla fideliter extracto. Et precipue concessa est in secunda feria Penthecostes singulis annis eadem die ob reverentiam sancti Spiritus eidem confratri vere penitenti et confesso omnium peccatorum suorum plenaria remissio et absolutio demptis casibus superius exceptis. ¶ Nos itaque Philippus dicti hospitalis de urbe ac totius ordinis ejusdem generalis Commissarius per presentes literas fidem facimus qualiter die infra scripta devo devotione mot . . . in dictam sanctam confraternitatem intrav . . . et de bonis suis juxta decretum summi pontificis solu . . . et ded . . . In quorum testimonium presentes literas sub sigillo Dicti hospitalis ad hoc ordinato tradi concessimus. Datum anno salutis nostre m.cccccc.xx Mensis die

¶ Forma absolutionis et plenarie remissionis semel in vita. M*[isereatur] tui deus, &c. Dominus noster Iesus Christus te absolvat. et ego auctoritate ipsius et apostolica michi (sic) commissa et tibi concessa; absolvo te ab [omni sententia] et vinculo excommunicationis necnon irregularitate. Et ab omnibus peccatis tuis et casibus etiam summo pontifici et sedi apostolice reservatis secundum [] insertum dando tibi plenariam omnium peccatorum tuorum remissionem. In nomine Patris, &c.

¶ Forma absolutionis ab aliis casibus totiens quotiens. [Misereatur tui] &c. Dominus noster, &c. Et ego absolvo te ab omnibus peccatis tuis, &c.

* The three capital M's, from this downwards at the beginning of the lines, are, in the original, *one large M*, occupying a square from the first to the last.

¶ Forma plenarie absolutionis in mortis articulo, et quotiens in tali articulo constituti fuerint.

[M]isereatur tui [deus], &c. Et ego absolvo te ab omni sententia et vinculo excommunicationis, necnon irregularitate, et ab omnibus peccatis tuis ac casibus etiam sedi apostolice et summo pontifici quovismodo reservatis dando tibi omnium peccatorum tuorum plenariam remissionem, &c.

¶ Visum est presens confessionale per me Waltherum Stone Legum doctorem.

¶ Impressum per me Richardum Pynson Regium Impressorem.

Per me
Philippum



Commissarium
generalem.

As a specimen, in the same way, of the morality of the church of Rome, up to the time of the Reformation, and somewhat justifying it, I will take the liberty of referring the reader, who would go to the bottom of such things, to a pamphlet, entitled, *TAXATIO PAPALIS*, being an account of the *Sacræ Taxæ Pœnitentiariæ* in particular, and to a transcript which will be given of an original copy of one of these documents in the possession of the author. The reader must carefully distinguish between these particular *Taxæ*, and others, all or any, innocent in themselves, or relative to innocent matters, which are extant in various parts of the *Bullarium Magnum*, and of which, generally speaking, as the authors need not be ashamed, so they studied not concealment. Happy for Rome,

if nothing more serious could be objected to her! The reader, therefore, is to be upon his guard against any attempt to amuse and delude him by an ostentatious and affectedly triumphant reference to these harmless documents.

The following copy of the *TAXE SACRE PENITENTIARIE* is a quarto of four folia, or eight pages, in Gothic letter, and printed apparently by Marcellus Franck, or some other Roman and authorized printer, by authority of LEO X. My reasons for this opinion are—the appearance of the type; the fact, that no originals of this production appear to have been issued after the pontificate of Leo; and the company in which my document is found. It is in a volume of collected pieces, which I purchased about the year 1825, of Messrs. Longman and Co. The volume, by a printed slip on the first title-page, appears to have belonged to the Library of the Cathedral of Tournay. The first piece is, *Liber cure pastoralis divi Gregorii, &c.*, 1498; the second, *Ordin. Synod. Senonensis*, 1524. Then follow more official papal tracts—*Modus servandus, &c.*; *Termini Causarum, &c.*; then the *TAXE*; immediately after, *Casus Papales, &c.*; *Stilus R. C. Marcellus Franck*; a Collection of Bulls on Church matters, *Besicken*, 1506; *Regule Ordd. &c. Leonis, d. p. Pape X. &c.*, 1513; various Orations and other pieces, of about the same date; and, to close the list of curiosities, *Bulla in Cena domini*, in the second year of the same Leo

Taxe sacre penitentie apostolice incipiunt . . . Fo. i.
Quinquennium pro una persona sive pro pluribus. Et possunt hic
poni vir et uxor et eorum liberi. Si tamen alter eorum ha-
beret liberos ex alio matrimonio: videlicet ex alio patre vel
ex alia matre: non possunt simul poni cum parentibus bo-
lendini xx.
Perpetuum pro una persona grossi xvii.
Et pro viro et uxore quia pro aliis non datur pluribus in simul
g xviii.

De absolutionibus et primo pro promotis.

- Absolutio pro clerico presente vel absente ultramontano: qui suscepit ordines in partibus citramontanis. . . . g xvii.
- Absolutio pro illo qui absque licentia sui ordinarii seu diocesani fuit promotus. g xvii,
- Absolutio pro eo qui minores et subdiaconatus ordines una et eadem die suscepit. g viii.
- Abso. illius qui non confirmatus suscepit ordines . . . g viii.
- Abso. illius qui se fecit ad fictum titulum promoveri . . g vii.
- Absolutio pro illo qui non confirmatus bis se fecit clericali caractere insigniri g viii.
- Absolutio pro eo qui ab episcopo iustum titulum non habente suscepit ordines g vii.
- Abso. illius qui minor xxv annis existens se fecit ad omnes sacros ordines promoveri et non est in etate legitima . . g vii.
- Absolutio pro eo qui nondum venit ad etatem legitimam et petit secum dispensari et quod possit ministrare . . . g xviii.
- Dispensatio pro eo qui dum xx sue etatis annum attigerit petit quod ad omnes sacros ordines promoveri possit . . g xxxiii.
- Absolutio pro presbytero qui ministravit in ordine sacro non suscepto. g viii.
- Absolutio pro presbytero, quia minor annis parrochiam ecclesiam obtinuit, et se promoveri fecit . . . g viii.
- Absolutio pro eo qui sine sui ordinarii licentia fuit promotus: et super hoc non est lata sententia g vi.
- Item si est lata, sed ignorabat g vi.
- Absolutio pro eo qui cadaver usurarii publici tradidit sepulture ecclesiastice g viii.
- Absolutio et dispensatio pro presbytero qui scienter celebravit excommunicatis presentibus g vii. vel viii.
- Absolutio et dispensatio pro presbytero qui excommunicatos ad divina admisit. g vii.
- Absolutio pro eo qui sine licentia sedis apostolice sanctum sepulcrum et alia ultramarina visitavit g viii.
- Absolutio pro monacho portante sotulares rostratos et tunicas nodatas g vii.
- Absolutio pro presbytero qui conjunctos in gradu prohibito matrimonialiter copulavit et coram eis celebravit . . . g vii.
- Absolutio pro illo qui usur culte exercuit . . . g vii.

b

- Abso. pro illo qui literas testimoniales falsas scripsit . . . g vii.
 Abso. illorum qui fuerunt testes in talibus literis falsis . . . g vii.
 Absolutio pro eo qui in ecclesia cognovit mulierem et alia mala
 commisit. g vi.
 Absolutio pro presbytero qui nonnullas personas absque eorum
 curati licentia matrimonialiter copulavit . . . g vii
 Absolutio pro presbytero qui nonnullas personas clandestine ma-
 trimonizavit et clandestinis matrimoniis interfuit . . . g vii.
 Abso. pro presbytero qui suos nubentes benedixit . . . g vii.
 Abso. pro concubinario et dispensatio super irregularitate : et hoc
 contra provinciales et sinodales constitutiones, &c. . . g vii.
 Absolutio pro laico super eodem g vii.
 Abso. pro laico qui res sacras de loco sacro cepit . . . g vii.
 Absolutio pro eo qui matrem sororem : aut aliam consanguineam :
 vel affinam suam : aut commatrem carnaliter cognovit . . . g v.
 Absolutio pro eo qui virginem defloravit g vi.
 Absolutio pro vitio symonie pro laico g vi.
 Idem pro presbytero g vii. Fo. ii.
 Idem pro monacho g viii.
 Absolutio pro perjuro g vi.
 Abso. pro illo qui in causa criminali false deposuit . . . g vi.
 Absolutio pro canonico qui prelatum indignum elegit . . . g vii.
 Abso. pro presbytero qui bona ecclesie que habuit non restituit :
 licet facta sit contra tales quedam monitio generalis . . . g vii.
 Abso. pro illo qui revelavit confessionem alterius . . . g vii.
 Et ultra hoc injungantur ei maxime pene
 Absolutio pro presbytero sive clerico qui quasdam literas officii
 penitentie sue seu aliqua instrumenta falsificavit sine tamen
 alicujus prejudicio et eas restituit laceratas . . . g vii. vel viii.
 Absolutio pro eo qui falsificavit literas apostolicas . . . g xvii. vel xviii.
 Absolutio pro illo qui falsificavit privilegia et amiserit ea sive
 sit presens vel absens ad minus g xvi.
 Abso. pro presbytero qui scienter celebravit in loco interdicto . . . g ix.
 Absolutio pro viro et muliere qui durante tempore interdicti non-
 nulla corpora defunctorum ad sepeliendum asportarunt et
 sepelierunt g ix
 Absolutio pro presbytero qui corpora defunctorum excommunica-
 torum in terra sancta sepelivit g viii.
 Absolutio et dispensatio pro presbytero presente vel absente qui
 scienter coram excommunicato celebravit g vi.

De votis et commutatione eorum.

Commutatio seu prerogatio voti sancti sepulchri dominici et aliorum locorum sanctorum ultramarinorum et apostolorum Petri et Pauli et sancti Jacobi in compostella . . . g xvii.

Et debet exprimi si quis vovit absque alicuius termini prefixione vel cum termini prefixione: quia si terminus est tunc elapsus debet absolvi a transgressionem voti: et additur . . . g i.

Si vero aliquis allegat perpetuum impedimentum. Item si temporale. Sed ponatur quod cessantibus impedimentis habeat votum suum adimplere.

Item pro eo qui vovit se intrare in eremitario: et dispensatur secum quod per annum serviat in aliquo famoso hospitali: etiam dicat per totum annum orationem dominicam omni die xx. vicibus g vi.

b

De matrimonialibus in gradu consanguinitatis vel affinitatis prohibito.

Dispensatio super quarto gradu consanguinitatis de contrahendo vel contracto ignoranter g xvii.

Super tertio et quarto g xxvii.

Super quarto et quinto g xxvii.

Et debet concordare cum camera apostolica.

Si vero contraxerint scienter et consumaverint . . . g xxi.

Et eodem modo de affinitate g xix.

Idem super defectu publice honestatis et justitie . . . g xvii.

Super defectu natalium.

Dispensatio super defectu natalium ad omnes ordines et unum beneficium etiam curatum: si de soluto et soluta defectum patiat g xii.

Item si quis defectu non obstante predicto et eo tacito se fecerit ad omnes ordines vel ad aliquem ipsorum promoveri: additur g i.

Dispensatio de uberiori: videlicet quod possit beneficium cum obtento vel obtinendo vigore prime dispensationis possidere: et illa si placeat permutare g xix.

Licentia comedendi carnes: butyrum: ova: et alia lacticinia tam in quadragesima quam in aliis diebus jejunalibus . . . g vii.

Super homicidio clericali.

Absolutio pro laico presente qui abbatem aut alium presbyterum minorem episcopo monachum vel clericum interfecit

g vii. viii. vel ix.

Pro absente non datur : quia omnes tales debent visitare sedem apostolicam, nisi quis dicat se perpetuum habere impedimentum, et tunc eadem est taxa. Aut allegat temporale impedimentum : ut guerras inimicitias capitales, paupertatem aut infirmitatem : et tunc po*natur clausula quod cessantibus im*Fo. iii pedimentis sedem visitet apostolicam et eadem est taxa. Item si sit mulier vel monachus tenetur visitare sedem apostolicam sub eadem taxa.

Item eiusdem taxe sunt littere super mutilatione membrorum cujus sunt super homicidio.

Super homicidio laicali.

Absolutio super homicidio laicali pro laico : et potest committi suo rectori g v.

Si tamen sit clericus committitur ordinario suo et non alteri quia interdicatur sibi executio suorum ordinum si quos habet et ad superiores ascensus. Sed si solum est promotus ad minores ordines dispensetur secum quod possit in suis susceptis ordinibus ministrare : sed interdicatur sibi ascensus ad superiores g vii.

Si vero promotus sit ad omnes sacros ordines dispensetur secum quod possit in minoribus ordinibus ministrare : executione suorum sacrorum ordinum sibi in perpetuum interdicta

g viii.

Et in istis ordinibus idem est pro presente vel absente.

Absolutio et dispensatio super homicidio laicali presbytero decano aut clerico. quando signatur supplicatio per Fiat de speciali vel de speciali ad cautelam. vel per Fiat sive sit presens vel absens si signetur sine conditione g xviii. vel xx.

Abso. pro eo qui interfecit patrem : matrem : fratrem : sororem : uxorem : aut alium consanguineum scilicet laicum. quia si esset aliquis eorum clericus : teneretur interfector visitare sedem apostolicam. Item absolutiones committuntur Epo suo, vel officiali, vel alicui abbati, aut alteri prelato sive epo

- in diocesi. Nec possunt committi curato: et quelibet earum venit ad g v. vel vii.
- Nota quod si interfector sit clericus suspenditur ab executione suorum ordinum si quos habet: et ad superiores ascensus sibi in perpetuum interdicitur g vii.
- Absolutio pro viro et uxore qui invenerunt juxta se puerum oppressum pro quolibet ipsorum g vi.
- Absolutio pro marito qui uxorem suam percussit: de qua peperit abortivum et ante tempus g vi. b
- Et idem pro quolibet alio laico g vi.
- Absolutio pro muliere que bibit aliquem potum vel alium actum fecit per quem destruxit fetum in utero vivificatum . g v.
- Nota quod si premissa committens sit clericus aut presbyter, vel fetum destruxerit in utero materno vivificatum: fiet sicut super homicidio laicali et eadem est pena: de qua quidem pena supra mentio est habita.
- Dispensatio cum insertione absolutionis pro presbytero seculari presente vel absente super homicidio laicali per Fiat de speciali ad cautelam . g xvi xvii. xviii. et quandoque xix.
- Nota quod quando dispensatur simpliciter ad omnes ordines dispensatur ad quecunque beneficia sine cura . g vi. vel vii.
- Nota quod quando quis promotus est ad omnes sacros ordines, vel ad unum ipsorum et dispensatur cum eo super homicidio laicali: quia super clericali non dispensatur pro absente: potest ministrare in minoribus dumtaxat. Sed si non est promotus: non dispensatur secum ad aliquos ordines: nec ad aliqua beneficia: etiam si sit clericus.

De injectione manuum.

- Absolutio de injectione manuum in prepositum decanum presbyterum diaconum aut clericum sive quemcunque religiosum: etiam laicum pro laico presbytero vel clerico presente etiam cum sanguinis effusione g ix.
- Si tamen monachus sive presbyter: vel in aliquibus ordinibus constitutus celebravit g viii.
- Absolutio pro absente de injectione manuum citra sanguinis effusionem aut alium excessum similem seu enormem g vii.
- Si tamen petatur dispensatio super irregularitate . g viii.
- Si vero injectio manuum sit usque ad sanguinis effusionem: aut

si capillorum extractio: vel alia gravis injectio sive percussio
g vii.

Nota tamen quod si manus injiciens sit mulier: aut monachus:
vel alius allegans perpetuum impedimentum . . . g vii.

Et ponatur quod cessantibus impedimentis sedem apostolicam
visitet

cum effectum. idem cum allegat paupertatem.—Et ponatur quod Fo. iv.
visitet eandem cum ad pinguiores fortunam devenerit.

Nota quod si plures fuerint in una injectione: percussione: homi-
cidio sive mutilatione: si litera est de speciali: addantur
pro quolibet g ii.

Sed in forma g i.

Si vero de speciali gratia g xliiii.

Si sine numero et litera sit in forma g xxii.

Item eodem modo si in aliis literis in quibus plures possunt esse
in eodum delicto ut prius notatum est.

Absolutio pro eo qui percussit patrem aut matrem: compatrem
aut commatrem.

De corpore viciatis.

Dispensatio pro aliquo super defectu alicujus membri pro pre-
sente g xiii.

Item pro absente g xvi.

Nota quod qualitercumque dispensatur, sive ad omnes, sive ad
aliquos ordines eadem taxa vel quasi.

Dispensatio pro presbytero presente vel absente qui abscidit suos
testiculos g xvi.

De spoliis.

Absolutio et dispensatio super spoliis: incendiis: rapinis: et
laicalibus homicidiis g viii.

Et potest committi alteri prelato quam ordinario. Sed si pre-
missa sint commissa in loco sacro vel cum locorum sacrorum
effractione absolutio committitur ordinario. Et si talis sit
clericus interdicatur sibi executio suorum ordinum et ad su-
periores ascensus g viii.

De raptoribus et incendiariis g vii.

Rehabilitatio pro inhabili g xxxv.

Scriptor habet g viii.

T

- De legitimatione eorum qui non habent patrem nec matrem
g xii.
- Pro litera illius qui habuit unam uxorem et ipsa ab eo recessit et ipse eam expectavit per aliquod tempus et postea diligentiam fecit scire
- de morte vel vita ejus et fuit aportata fama de morte ejus: postea contraxit vel vult contrahere cum alia uxore: petit quod possit remanere cum secunda. et quod proles. &c., si litera est judiciaria. &c., videat auditor. &c. . . g x.
- Scriptor habet g vii.
- Qui excommunicatus est vel presbyterum interfecit aut vulneravit seu alio crimine innodatus moritur: conceditur ad instantium parentum vel amicorum suorum quod possit inter alios fideles sepeliri g vi.
- Pro presbytero qui sepelivit aliquos tempore interdicti ignoranter Et scienter g vi.
- Quando aliqui duo manus violentas injecerint in vicinos vel imposuerint in aliquos venit in taxa ad g xxi.
- Et in sigillo ad g xxii. cum dimidio.
- Pro aliqua religiosa que petit licentiam eundi ad balnea causa infirmitatis: vel propter aliam justam causam: supplicatio fit in forma. Similiter alibi si petat licentiam pro qualibet persona adduntur g ii.
- Pro falsificatione literarum apo. signatur de speciali mandato
g xxvii.

De sententiis generalibus.

- Absolutio de sententiis generalibus: in forma assertiva per modum si inveneris: aut licet non credas: pro religioso presente vel absente abbate vel alio religioso g ix.
- Pro presbytero seculari . g x. Pro clerico vel laico . g xi.
- Abso. pro eo qui est excommunicatus et gravatus paupertate: ita quod non potest suis creditoribus satisfacere g vii.
- Abso. pro presbytero qui ligatus quadam sententia speciali divina celebrat officia. Nec est cura si sit absolutus vel non g vii.
- Absolutio pro monacho qui sine licentia monasterium suum exivit grossi vii. viii. vel ix.
- Nota quod quando aliqua litera petitur redatari solvitur tertia

*pars taxationis illi qui datat. Nota quod quando litera est declaratoria et auditor super irregularitate &c., ipse signat. Fiat de speciali quo ad ratum. &c. Si est ita. Quando-
cunque ponitur ista conjunctio et tunc taxa duplicatur.*

The Parisian edition of 1520 agrees so closely, in the coincident part, the *Penitentie*, with the copy above given, that, except the trifling variations of *absolutio* variously printed, at length or contractedly, (which constitutes the greatest number of the variations;) differences in punctuation; the insertion, omission, or substitution of a small indifferent word; and the varying use of capitals—no greater, or more important variations besides exist, than the following:—at the end of the title *incipiunt* is omitted; immediately after is inserted as the head, *Quinquenniales et perpetue dispensationes*; under the third head *jungatur* for *ponatur*; under the fourth, in the head itself, *absolutio* is prefixed; as likewise under the sixth; and there are two instances of two words transposed, without any difference in the sense.

This description, which is perfectly accurate, is thought preferable to a minute exhibition of the variæ lectiones.

The Irish titular, Dr. Doyle, in his examination by the Parliamentary Commissioners on the state of Ireland, retorted the charge of pecuniary penance on the Church of England, and referred to Burn's Ecc. Law, under the word *PENANCE*, in proof of the fact. I will give him and his communion, further, and perhaps *better* authority, in the Lives, by the laborious and impartial Strype—of Parker, book iv. c. xxv.; of Grindal, book ii. c. xi., and Appendix, book ii. No. v.; and of Whitgift, vol. i. p. 376, of Oxford edition—in which it appears, that pecuniary fines were sometimes with great cau-

tion allowed. In order to give our opponents still further, and every possible advantage, or at least light, on this subject, I refer them to the documents in the fourth volume of Wilkins's *Concilia M. B.*, pp. 315, 355, 362, 552, 638, 654, 5. And from the last reference, where are found the '*form for regulating proceedings*,' &c., by Convocation, dated April 30, 1714, under sect. iii. 'That in all crimes of ecclesiastical cognizance the judge and register shall send out their citations,' &c. 'And that no commutation of penance be hereafter accepted or allowed of by any ecclesiastical judge, without an express consent given in writing by the bishop of the diocese, or other ordinary having jurisdiction, or by some person or persons to be especially deputed by them for that purpose; and that all commutations, or pretended commutations, accepted or allowed otherwise, than is hereby directed, be ipso facto null and void.

'That no sum of money given or received for any commutation of penance, or any part thereof, shall be disposed of to any use, without the consent and direction in writing of the bishop, or other ordinary having exempt jurisdiction, if the cause hath been prosecuted in their courts, or of the arch-deacon, if the cause hath been prosecuted in his court; and all money received for commutation pursuant to the foregoing directions shall be disposed of to pious and charitable uses,' (*not fees of office*,) 'by the respective ordinaries abovementioned, whereof at the least one-third part shall by them be disposed of in the parish, where the offenders dwell. And that a register be kept in every ecclesiastical court of such commutations, and of the particular uses to which such money hath been applied; and that the account so registered, be every year laid before the bishop, or other exempt ordinary having episcopal jurisdiction, in order to be audited by them; and that any ecclesiastical judge or officer offending in any of the premises, be suspended for three months for the said

offence.' Perfectly identical all this with what is exhibited in the foregoing Taxæ!

But should it be possible to substantiate the charge against the Church of England in the most objectionable form and degree, *from whence came the practice? from whom did the Church of England receive it?* At any rate the solution of *Fees of Office*, which we shall see is the sheet anchor of the Roman apologist, is, by the supposition of identity, perfectly destroyed; for in the foregoing instances it is plain mulct or commutation. But will any person, who has any knowledge of the two things attempted to be identified, take upon himself to affirm, or, what is better, prove, that the Church of England has either in print, or in office copies, regular catalogues of crimes, for absolution from which certain varying sums of money are to be paid, or that anything in that church exists, or is allowed, identical, or even in the remotest degree similar to the table above given, and other similar ones in the work referred to?

But we have yet to encounter another man, armed with '*Fees of Office*,' Dr. Milner, late Vicar Apostolic of the Midland-district in this country. In his *ironically* entitled *End of Controversy*, ed. 1824, Letter xli., note i., he writes of what he calls a 'curious account,' and affirms it to be 'borrowed from the *Taxa Cancellariæ Romanæ*, a book which has been frequently published, though with great variations, both as to the crimes and the prices, by the Protestants of Germany and France'—*the reader may know pretty well whether by Protestants only*—'and as frequently condemned by the See of Rome'—*and the reader may equally know, how far this is true, even if shelter be sought under the condemnations of the Protestant reprints*. But we proceed. 'It is proper that Mr. Clayton,' (the gentleman attacked,) 'and his friends should know, that the Pope's Court of Chancery has no more to do, nor pretends to have anything

more to do with the *forgiveness of sins*, than his Majesty's Court of Chancery does.' A little more, by the leave of this polemic errant, who never stuck at anything, if a Roman writer, Ciampinus, de S. R. E. Vicecancellario, Romæ, 1697, be right, who declares *that* officer to have jurisdiction over the officials of the *Pœnitentiary*, and states, as one of the rules of office, quod possit committere absolutionem illorum, qui ignoranter, &c., pp. 52, 53. But the case before the Vicar Apostolic and before us, was, and is, not concerning, or concerning in a very slight degree, the Pope's Chancery, but the Pope's *Pœnitentiary*; which latter the apologist very dexterously, as he well knew how, contrives to keep out of sight, and throws out the other court to amuse and bewilder the reader. But of the *Book*. 'In case there was the least 'real groundwork for this vile book, which I cannot find there 'was'—*is it possible to believe such ignorance sincere? even the Protestant prefaces would satisfy any rational man*—'the 'money paid into the papal chancery could be nothing else 'but the *fees of office*, on restoring certain culprits to the *civil 'privileges* which they had forfeited by their crimes.' If Dr. Milner were really ignorant, to write in this dogmatic way would be dishonest; because he must have been sensible of his incompetence to decide; and if he *knew* the truth, his delinquency was still greater. But who, that for a moment glances upon the catalogue just set before him, not to mention many others recognized by papal bibliographers, can persuade himself that the articles express *nothing* but innocent fees of office? Why then not fairly published? Why, as is affirmed, condemned? Why was C. d'Espence—poor scrupulous ignoramus! so shocked, and indignant? It is in vain, then, to conceal the *dilemma* into which the champions of Rome are brought on the subject of this iniquity of their church. At one time it is the '*vile book*,' which had no existence but in the invention of heretics, and was uniformly

disavowed, abominated, condemned, by the innocents upon whom it was charged. But this plan of attack, and this position, could not, it was wisely suspected, be maintained. The assailants therefore, a party of them, on a sudden, get to the opposite side of the fortress, and endeavour to undermine and blow it up with '*fees of office*.' Between the two the distressed besiegers hardly know which method to prefer and abide by, not considering, themselves, so attentively as perhaps others will do for them, that the two parties, as far as their efforts are effectual, annoy, and must eventually destroy, each other; for, if the Book is so vile as to be utterly disavowed and repudiated, it cannot be so innocent as to contain nothing more than what is warranted by strict morality.

Mr. Butler has *adopted* from his magnus Apollo, the *fees of office* system. Towards the end of Prosper Marchand's satisfactory article on the subject of his Dictionary, it may be seen that a French advocate of Rome very zealously and powerfully presses the *abominable* plea. If truth had been on his side, and he could have detached the burden from the back of his church, he would have done something. But confession, repentance, and amendment is all that remains for the apostate of the seven hills.

I cannot refrain, before I close this subject, to notice the shameless effrontery, or ignorance displayed by Dr. Doyle, in his examination before the Irish commissioners, March 18th, 1825, on the subject of papal indulgences. The assertions, or half-assertions, meant to pass for whole ones, by this man, were, except on the supposition of consummate ignorance, what he knew at the time to be absolutely false. Did he know of no indulgences a *pœna et culpa*? None for more than seven years, as authentic as any under that term? None for the future? As dishonourable is the ignorance or treachery of a commissioner, who talked of 'a vulgar error' on the subject. He was the same, I presume, who had to learn

from his catechumen the definition of heresy and schism: or the same who, adopting the approved papistic method in controversy with Protestants of personating the infidel or Socinian, imagined that he had obtained a dexterous advantage over the Archbishop of Dublin by an interrogatory lecture on the Athanasian Creed, which, he pleased himself, was an exquisite parallel, both in *kind* and *degree*, with the monstrosities, doctrinal and practical, which papal credulity is constrained to swallow, and the papal conscience is constrained to profess and enforce. If the Protestant body were to be considered as represented by these commissioners, well might they blush, on the score both of intelligence and principle. A more faithless, and—but I must stop.

A
HISTORIC DEDUCTION
OF THE
EPISCOPAL
OATH OF ALLEGIANCE
To the Pope,
IN THE CHURCH OF ROME:
CONTAINING
THE OATH BOTH IN ITS ORIGINAL AND IN ITS
LATEST FORM;
THE LATTER TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH:
WITH
SOME REMARKS IN PARTICULAR UPON WHAT IS CALLED
THE PERSECUTING CLAUSE.

'I own it is with much pain, and awful foreboding of consequences, that I have observed some of our wisest and most enlightened statesmen appear to entertain such sentiments of the present state of the Roman Catholic Religion as to me are wholly unaccountable, except on the hypothesis, either of almost a total ignorance of both the religious and political parts of the Papal system; or, certainly, of an irreverent contempt and carelessness respecting the one, and a dangerous misconception of the other.'—*Sermons by the late Very REV. ISAAC MILNER, Dean of Carlisle, President of Queen's College, Cambridge, &c.* Vol. I. pp. 80, 81.

I BEG to subjoin to this work, as illustrating a considerable portion of its contents and general spirit, a pamphlet published by me in the year 1822, with some alterations, and both copious and important additions. The argument, however, as applied to the morality and consequences of granting civil and political power to the professors and agents of a religion, in the highest degree, and essentially hostile to the religious and civil liberties of a Protestant constitution, I leave in the form in which it originally stood ; since, in the opinion of the writer, the unfortunate measure of 1829 has confirmed every article of that argument with the utmost precision ; and the historic deduction of the Oath possesses a literary interest independently of any ulterior object.

EPISCOPAL OATH,

1832

&c.

WHATEVER justice or injustice may exist in the charge against the subjects of the papal dominion, that, in their view, Oaths *against their church* either are not binding, or admit of dispensation, there cannot be the shadow of a doubt, that Oaths *in favour of their church* are regarded by them as of the strictest and most indispensable obligation. Such are the two most important oaths taken by the ecclesiastic, the efficient part of the Romish church—the first, prescribed by Pope Pius IV. to the clergy, and, as appears by the last English Ritual, imposed upon *all converts* to Popery, declaring the main corruptions in doctrine of that apostate church to be the true Catholic Faith, ‘*out of which no man can be saved*’—*extra quam nemo salvus esse potest*. Many momentous reflexions arise out of the contents of this oath, upon which it is not my present purpose to enlarge.

What I principally propose is, to offer some observations on the other—the Oath of Allegiance to the Pope, taken by all the ecclesiastic subjects of the Papal See, previously to their consecration or translation to the highest dignities; or, in other words, by all archbishops and bishops elect.

From the observation made at the beginning respecting the indispensable character of such oaths as those just specified; from their universal diffusion, in their

effects, through the whole mass of the Romish population, laic as well as ecclesiastic; and from the great importance of the points contained in them, as decisive of the principles of the papacy, it is evident that the highest interest attaches to these documents: and the true defenders of our Protestant church, and, I will add, of the state too, which is as essentially Protestant, have done well to draw the attention of their countrymen to a test, which, in spite of all the Protean evasions successfully resorted to on other points, has something fixed and certain—and *that* certainty of a most formidable character.

The Episcopal oath, into which I propose to inquire, is far more antient in its origin and rudiments than the other. In that state, and of course far less extended than in its more modern and present one, it is to be found in Decret. Greg. IX. l. ii. tit. 24, and is as follows:—

1. Ego N. Episcopus ab hac hora in antea fidelis ero sancto Petró, Sanctæque Romanæ Ecclesiæ, dominoque meo Papæ C. ejusque successoribus canonice intrantibus.—2. Non ero neque in consilio, neque in facto, ut vitam perdat aut membrum, vel capiat malâ captione.—3. Consilium, quod mihi aut per se, aut per literas, aut per nuncium manifestabit, ad ejus damnum nulli pandam.—4. Papatum Romanæ Ecclesiæ et Regulas Sanctorum Patrum adjutor ero ad defendendum et retinendum, salvo ordine meo, contra omnes homines.—5. Vocatus ad Synodum veniam: nisi præpeditus fuero Canonica præpeditio.—6. Legatum ap. se. quem certum esse cognovero, in eundo et redeundo honorifice tractabo, et in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo.—7. Limina Apostolorum singulis annis aut per me, aut per certum nuncium visitabo, nisi eorum absolvat licentia. Sic Deus me adjuvet, et hæc sancta Evangelia.

The oath is here given as it stands in an edition of the Decretals of Greg. IX. printed at Venice, 1486. It

may just be added, that the gloss upon *salvo meo ordine* is—*secundum quod pertinet ad meum honorem: quia non cum armis*. The Gregory, with whom this oath originated, ought, according to the description of him in the Decretals, to be the second. But as the pontifical law is not in many respects the purest of all digests, even its adherents have not scrupled to correct it, when they have seen occasion, and that not with the strictest uniformity*. Accordingly, Catalani, the Commentator upon the Pontificale Romanum, edited in 1738, contends, and with apparent reason, that the oath in question is to be ascribed to the Seventh Gregory, in the eleventh century. His argument is, that such oaths were not in use until about this time, and that the present originated from the particular occasion which follows. The greater part of the princes and bishops of Italy and Germany, being openly addicted to simony and concubinage, became very rebellious against the sovereign Pontiff and the apostolic see; and therefore his Holiness deemed it prudent to put this chain about their necks at the precise moment when they were most at his service and mercy†.

The highest ecclesiastic authorities in the Papal-Hibernian church have found it their interest, and have not scrupled, on oath, to affirm, that the oath under consideration is *canonical only*. I will satisfy myself, for proof, with the declaration of the Rev. P. Curties, D. D. Roman Catholic Archbishop of Armagh, before the Committee of the House of Lords for inquiring into the state of Ireland, March 24, 1825: 'It' (the episcopal oath, of which a copy was immediately after delivered) 'means *nothing more than canonical obedience*,

* See *Collatio Censuræ in Glossas Juris Canonici*, jussu Pii V. Pont. anno 1572 editæ; cum iisdem Glossis, Greg. XIII. mandato, &c. In other words, Pope against Pope, a Joh. Pappo, Argent. 1609.

† Tom. i. pp. 178 et seq.

the obedience which the canons of the church or general councils require to be paid to the Pope, as head of the church.'

Catalani, who did not anticipate their interest, and had no similar one of his own, has plainly declared that the first oath of this kind by the Patriarch of Aquileia to Gregory VII. in 1079, 'expressed, not only a profession of *canonical obedience*, but an OATH OF FEALTY, *not unlike that which VASSALS took to their DIRECT LORDS*'—*sed etiam juramentum fidelitatis non absimile illi quod Dominis suis directis Vassalli præstabant.* § ii. And in § iv. he adduces Florens as asserting the three first articles rather extended beyond those in the original oath—*fuisse desumptos ex Titulo v. et vi. Feudorum lib. ii.* Nothing in fact can be plainer from the very terms of the oath, either in the contracted or enlarged form. Mr. Berington, who ought to understand the subject, and did, after stating the feudal constitution of the Papal church or hierarchy, adds, 'And here also is an oath of *fealty*.' In a note referred to from this place he writes, 'See the *oath* taken by bishops at their consecration*.' Another Roman Catholic writer, Count Ferd. dal Pozzo, adduces the concordat of Rome and Naples, Feb. 16, 1818; and the oath tendered to the clergy on the accession of C. Felix to the throne of Sardinia in 1821, which oath bound them to 'maintain to the utmost of their ability the full power,' &c. of the king; that reserve being interpreted, *so far as* 'consistent with your ecclesiastical calling,' &c. And he adds, 'The first reflexion arising from the perusal of the above' [the last] 'document is, that, according to the maxims avowed, even in the present day, by the Court of Rome, ecclesiastics owe a greater obedience to the Pope than to their temporal sovereign—that they only consider themselves

* Hist. of Decl. and Fall of the Roman Catholic religion in England, p. 275, ed. 1813.

the subjects of the latter by the Pope's permission,' &c.* I am tempted to add, while upon this subject, that in a MS. collection in my possession, from the Cassano Library, which has the general title *Investitura et Capitulationes Summorum Pontificum*, there occur—An oath of Charles V. and Joanna his mother, professing plenum homagium, et vaxallagium, to Clemens VII. for the kingdom of Sicily, which contains many of the clauses, and in the same terms, which are found in the later and longer form of the episcopal oath, the schismatic and heretic not being forgotten, whom donec convertantur, persequuntur et invadent.—Another of the King of Sicily, and of Ferd. Francus, procurator of the king, to Julius III., exactly in the same style, engaging that each, instead of assisting heretics, eos juxta posse suum donec convertantur persequetur et impugnabit.—Infeudatio facta per Bonifacium P.P. VIII. de Regno Sardiniae et Corsicae Ill^{te} Jacobo Aragoniae Regi, comprehending an oath, which, being early (about 1300) and short, and therefore agreeing, as far as a secular oath may be expected to do, with the original episcopal oath, I will transcribe for the reader's satisfaction.

1. Ego Jacobus Dei et apostolicæ sedis gratia Rex Sardiniae ac Corsicae ab hac hora in antea fidelis, et obediens ero Beato Petro, ac dno Bonifatio Divina providentia P. P. VIII. suisq. successoribus canonice intransantibus sancte Romanæ ecclesiæ. 2. Non ero in consilio, aut consensu, vel facto, ut vitam perdat, aut

* Catholicism in Austria, pp. 183—8. I may add the highly respectable authority to the same purpose of another Roman Catholic, Dr. O'Connor, who, in the first part of his Historical Address, &c. 1810, after quoting a portion of the Oath, writes, 'By this oath, they' [the takers] 'pledge to be spies and informers, even against their own countrymen, in case of any machinations against the temporal power of the Court of Rome.—For this is evidently a feudal oath of obedience, by which they pledge themselves to maintain the temporal titles and regalia, as well as the spiritual rights, of the Pope!'—p. 124.

membrum, aut capiatur mala captione. 3. Consilium quod mihi credituri sunt per se aut Nuncios suos sive per literas, suas ad eorum damnum me sciente nemini pandam illudque pro posse impediam si scivero, et si impedire non possem illud eis significari curabo.

4. Papatum Romanum, et Regali sancti petri tam in Regno prefato quam alibi existentia adjutor eis ero ad retinendum et defendendum, ac recuperandum, et recuperata manutenendum contra omnem hominem—universas, et singulas conditiones nostras, seu formas, et tenores contentas in literis adimplebo, et inviolabiliter observabo, nec ullo unquam tempore veniam contra illa, sic Deus me adjuvet, et hæc sancta evangelia.

I have no doubt that I could have found much more to this plain purpose, if necessary ; but had it not been for the exigency which requires the subjects of Rome to pretend a want of power in their church in order to increase its power, the feudality of the episcopal oath of allegiance to the Bishop of mystic Babylon would have been left in quiet possession of its noontide self-evidence.

It is proper to be observed, that when the Corpus Juris Canonici was revised, amended, and published by Gregory XIII., the following note was prefixed to the oath. *Ponitur forma Juramenti septem cap. continens, secundum quam jurant Papæ Episcopi : sed hodie omnes recipientes dignitatem a Papa sibi jurant. Hæc fit pro summario et divisione.* This was proper, as the oath had then, for some time, been enlarged to nearly, if not entirely, its present dimensions. I have added the numbers above to distinguish the seven heads. It will be seen here, that the number of the persons upon whom the oath is imposed is extended—not simply archbishops and bishops, but all who receive any dignity from the Pope. How far this variation has been acted upon I have not particularly inquired. The only variation in the body of the oath, as given in this edition, is the

adding *sancta* to the second occurrence of the words *Romanæ Ecclesiæ*.

I propose now, as it is not of very common occurrence, to exhibit to the reader the oath in its present form; and I copy it from the edition of the *Pontificale Romanum* by Catalani, tom. i. pp. 178, 9.

Ego N. Electus Ecclesiæ N. ab hac hora in antea fidelis et obediens ero Beato Petro Apostolo, Sanctæque Romanæ Ecclesiæ, et Domino nostro, Domino N. Papæ N. suisque successoribus, canonice intransitibus. Non ero in consilio, aut consensu, vel facto, ut vitam perdant, aut membrum; seu capiantur mala captione; aut in eos violenter manus quomolibet ingerantur; vel injuriæ aliquæ inferantur, quovis quæsito colore. Consilium vero quod mihi credituri sunt, per se, aut Nuncios suos, seu literas, ad eorum damnum, me sciente, nemini pandam. Papatum Romanum et Regalia S. Petri* adjutor eis ero ad retinendum et defendendum, salvo meo ordine, contra omnem hominem. Legatum Apostolicæ sedis in eundo et redeundo honorifice tractabo, et in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo. Jura, honores, privilegia, et auctoritatem Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, Domini nostri Papæ et successorum prædictorum, conservare, defendere, augere, et promovere curabo. Neque ero in consilio, vel facto, seu tractatu in quibus contra ipsum Dominum nostrum, vel eandem Romanam Ecclesiam aliqua sinistra vel præjudicialia personarum, juris, honoris, status et potestatis, eorum machinentur. Et si talia a quibuscunque tractari vel procurari novero, impediam hoc pro posse, et quanto citius potero significabo eidem Domino nostro, vel alteri per quem possit ad ipsius notitiam pervenire. Regulas Sanctorum Patrum, decreta, ordinationes, seu dispositiones, reservationes,

* It deserves particularly to be remarked, that these *Regalia S. Petri* sprang from the *Regulas Sanctorum Patrum* in the original oath. Catalani supposes they might have been formerly designated by the initials alone, *R. S. P.*; and that the present Regalities of St. Peter originated from a mistake—a very suitable and fortunate one. The Rules of the holy fathers, however, occur afterwards, and obviate further inquiry.

provisiones et mandata Apostolica totis viribus observabo, et faciam ab aliis observari. Hæreticos, Schismaticos et Rebelles eidem Domino nostro vel successoribus prædictis pro posse persequar et impugnabo. Vocatus ad Synodum veniam, nisi præpeditus fuero canonica præpeditio. Apostolorum limina singulis trienniis personaliter per me ipsum visitabo, et Domino nostro ac successoribus præfatis rationem reddam de toto meo pastoralis officio, et de rebus omnibus ad meæ Ecclesiæ statum, ad cleri, et populi disciplinam, animarum denique, quæ meæ fidei traditæ sunt, salutem quovismodo pertinentibus, et vicissim mandata Apostolica humiliter recipiam et quam diligentissime exequar. Quod si legitimo impedimento detentus fuero præfata omnia adimplebo per certum Nuncium ad hoc speciale mandatum habentem de gremio mei capituli, aut alium in dignitate Ecclesiastica constitutum, seu alias personatum habentem; aut, his mihi deficientibus, per diocesanum Sacerdotem; et clero deficiente omnino per aliquem alium Presbyterum sæcularem vel regularem spectatæ probitatis et religionis de supradictis omnibus plene instructum. De hujusmodi autem impedimento docebo per legitimas probationes ad Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalem Proponentem in Congregatione Sacri concilii per supradictum Nuntium transmittendas. Possessiones vero ad mensam meam pertinentes non vendam, nec donabo neque impignorabo, nec de novo infeudabo vel aliquo modo alienabo, etiam cum consensu Capituli Ecclesiæ meæ, inconsulto Romano Pontifice. Et si ad aliquam alienationem devenero, pœnas in quadam super hoc edita constitutione contentas eo ipso incurrere volo. Sic me Deus adjuvet et hæc sancta Dei evangelia.

I subjoin an English translation, adopted in the main from Barrow's decisive 'Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy.' London, 1680, pp. 33, 34.

I, N. Elect of the Church of N. from henceforward will be faithful and obedient to Saint Peter the Apostle, and to the Holy Roman Church, and to our Lord the Lord N. Pope N., and to his successors canonically en

tering. I will neither advise, consent, nor do anything that they may lose life or member, or that their persons may be seized, or hands anywise laid upon them, or any injuries offered to them under any pretence whatsoever. The counsel with which they shall entrust me, by themselves, their messengers, or letters, I will not knowingly reveal to any to their prejudice. I will help them to keep and defend the Roman Papacy, and the Regalities of Saint Peter, saving my order, against all men. The Legate of the Apostolic See, going and coming, I will honourably treat and help in his necessities. The rights, honours, privileges, and authority of the Holy Roman Church, of our Lord the Pope, and his aforesaid successors, I will endeavour to preserve, defend, increase, and advance. I will not be in any counsel, action, or treaty, in which shall be plotted against our said Lord, and the said Roman Church, anything to the hurt or prejudice of their persons, right, honour, state, or power; and if I shall know any such thing to be treated or agitated by any whatsoever, I will hinder it to my power; and as soon as I can will signify it to our said Lord, or to some other by whom it may come to his knowledge. The rules of the Holy Fathers, the Apostolic decrees, ordinances or disposals, reservations, provisions, and mandates, I will observe with all my might, and cause to be observed by others. Heretics, Schismatics, and Rebels to our said Lord or his foresaid successors, I will to my power persecute and oppose. I will come to a council when I am called, unless I be hindered by a Canonical impediment. I will by myself in person visit the threshold of the Apostles every three years; and give an account to our Lord and his foresaid successors of all my Pastoral Office, and of all things anywise belonging to the state of my Church, to the discipline of my Clergy and people, and lastly to the salvation of souls committed to my trust; and will in like manner humbly receive and diligently execute the Apostolic commands. And if I be detained by a lawful impediment, I will perform all the things aforesaid by a certain messenger hereto specially empowered, a member of my Chapter, or some other in Ecclesiastical dignity, or else having a

Parsonage; or, in default of these, by a Priest of the Diocese; or, in default of one of the Clergy [of the Diocese], by some other secular or regular Priest of approved integrity and religion, fully instructed in all things above mentioned. And such impediments I will make out by lawful proofs to be transmitted by the aforesaid messenger to the Cardinal Proponent of the Holy Roman Church in the Congregation of the Sacred Council. The possessions belonging to my table I will neither sell nor give away, nor mortgage, nor grant anew in fee, nor anywise alienate, no, not even with the consent of the Chapter of my Church, without consulting the Roman Pontiff. And if I shall make any alienation, I will thereby incur the penalties contained in a certain constitution put forth about this matter. So help me God and these Holy Gospels of God.

It will be obvious at once, on inspection, that the oath, in its original and in its present state, are of widely different extent; and that, although the first remains perhaps without any alteration, considerable additions have been made to it.

It is an inquiry, not only of curiosity, but of some importance likewise, when these additions were made. To ascertain this in a manner which can at all be considered as complete, would be, I apprehend, an undertaking of some difficulty. This is a fair inference from the manifest errors of some able writers. It is my object in this pamphlet to contribute as much as my moderate researches enable me to do on the subject.

But, previously to bringing forward my facts, I would observe that the most serious and important of the additional clauses is that which is justly called the Persecuting Clause, and which deserves to be repeated, that it may enjoy its due prominence.

Hæreticos, schismaticos, et rebelles eidem domino nostro (Papæ) vel successoribus prædictis PRO POSSE PERSEQUI ET IMPUGNABO.

It is rather difficult to translate this sentence. The best translation appears to be—*Heretics, schismatics, and rebels against the Pope, I will to the best of my power persecute and fight against.* This is faint enough. The practical application, in the reign of Mary, is the best interpreter. Some friends of the tender mercies of Popery have rendered the word *persequi*, pursue. And if the idea intended be that of pursuit in a chase, whether of animals, particularly the timid and harmless hare, or of human beings, as the fact has been, the image is not without its aptitude. The word for *persequar*, however, was formerly *prosequar*. We shall have occasion to notice this alteration.

Dr. Hales, in his valuable work, lately published, on ‘The Origin and Purity of the Primitive Church of the British Isles,’ &c., speaks of ‘a later form’ of the oath ‘in the Roman Pontifical, printed at *Venice*, 1572, in which the persecuting clause seems to have been first introduced.’ And soon after, speaking of the word *persequar* substituted for *prosequar*, he writes, ‘which was first introduced in the *Pontifical* of Clement VIII. published at Rome in 1595.’—pp. 51, 52, note. Whatever may be the fact with respect to printed editions of the oath, it is certain, as will appear, that, with respect to the actual administration of the oath, this statement is inaccurate.

It is remarkable that the oath taken by William Courtney, on being advanced to the archbishopric of Canterbury in 1382, is considerably more extended than the original one; and, although it has not the persecuting clause, has, with respect to the antipope of the time and his adherents, the corresponding expression *secundum posse meum—persequar*. See Wilkins’s *Concilia*, Mag. Brit., &c., tom. iii. pp. 154, 155.

In the year 1501, however, when Henry Deane was

made primate, he took the oath in its original form.—See Godwin de Presul, &c., by Richardson, p. 133.

In 1504 his successor Warham took the oath, enlarged and containing the persecuting clause, but with the word *prosequar*.—Wilkins's *Concilia*, &c., tom. iii. p. 647. Here then is the earliest instance which I have discovered of the introduction of the persecuting clause—much earlier than the year 1572, to which Dr. Hales's edition assigns it. But I cannot help suspecting that it is earlier still, and may probably have originated with the appearance and persecution of the Albigenses and Waldenses, who created much disturbance to the Unholy Roman Catholic Church. This opinion is founded on a very curious and important document subjoined to Limborch's *Historia Inquisitionis*. It is entitled *Liber Sententiarum Inquisitionis Tholosanæ*. Ab anno Christi 1307 ad annum 1323; and contains the judicial proceedings of the Inquisition at Thoulouse against the Albigenses, Waldenses, and other presumed heretics. At the commencement of each sentence or trial, the royal officers of the place took the oath, of which the following is a part. Nos, N., N., &c., juramus per hæc sancta Dei Evangelia, quod fidem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et Sante Romane ecclesie tenebimus et *teneri faciemus*, et ipsam deffendemus pro viribus contra omnes. ¶ Item, quod hereticos credentes, fautores et receptatores eorundem, *persequemur et capiemus et capi faciemus quandocunque poterimus, et accusabimus, et denunciabimus Ecclesie et Inquisitoribus, si alicubi noverimus eos esse*. Et seq. A memorable instance, indeed, of the familiarity of this language, with which practice was never at variance, occurs about two centuries earlier in a letter of Paschal II. to Robert Count of Flanders, instigating him to rise against the Emperor of Germany, Henry IV.; and the analogy of a part of it with the

celebrated clause under consideration is too remarkable to be overlooked. *Nec in hac tantum parte, sed ubique, cum poteris, Henricum HÆRETICORUM CAPUT, et ejus fautores PRO VIRIBUS PERSEQUARIS. Nulium profecto gratius Deo, quam si eum IMPUGNES, &c.* Ep. vii.* I would here just observe, that the prepositions per and pro in these times were contracted in such a manner as very nearly to resemble each other, being nothing more than a different mark at the bottom of the letter p, and therefore easily convertible.

The oath was taken in its present form by Thomas Wolsey, when elected Bishop of Lincoln in 1513. See Rymer's *Fœd.* vol. xiii. pp. 392, 393. Here the word is still *prosequar*. But in the following year, when he was promoted to the archbishopric of York, and took the same oath, the word is *persequar*. And this is the first instance in which I have found it. This, however, is likewise a date prior to Dr. Hales's for the same fact. *Id. ibid.* pp. 450—3. The originals of these documents, which are Bulls of Leo X., are among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum.

There is yet one other specimen of the oath, which is too important in itself, and too nearly interesting to Englishmen, to be omitted. It is extant in Hall's Chronicle, under the xxivth yere of Henry the VIII., or A. D. 1533. The introduction by the historian is peculiarly suited to the argument, which is as good still as ever, of the present work. 'The xi daie of Maie, the Kyng sent for the Speker again, and xii of the common house, havyng with hym eight Lordes, and saied to theim, welbeloved subjectes, we thought that y^e clergie of our realme had been our subjectes wholly, but now wee have well perceived, that they bee but halfe our subjectes: for all the

* See Centuriators of Magdeburg, under the twelfth century, col. 493; or Brown's *Fasciculus Rerum Expet. et Fugiend.* tom. ii. p. 176.

Prelates at their consecration make an othe to the Pope, clene contrary to the othe that they make to us, so that they seme to be his subjectes and not ours. The copie of both the othes I deliver here to you, requirynge you to invent some ordre, that we bee not thus deluded of our spirituall subjectes. The Spekar departed and caused the othes to be redde in the cōmon house, the very tenor whereof ensueth.'

The oath in English follows, being a pretty close translation of the present one. I will only quote the persecuting clause: 'Heretickes, sismatikes, and rebelles to our holy father and his successors, I shal resist and persecute to my power.'

Then follows the oath to the King, intended to nullify the former. The observation of the historian, which follows, is worth recording. 'The openyng of these othes was one of the occasions why the Pope, within two yere folowyng, lost all his jurisdiccion in Englande, as you shall here afterward.' It seems, now (1832); as if it might be the occasion of his regaining it.

It is well known that Cranmer, when he took this oath, was allowed to omit the persecuting clause, and protested against the whole, reserving to himself the liberty of making any reformation, deemed necessary, in the church. See Strype's Life, Appendix, Nos. V. and VI. In the *Processus contra Cranmerum*, however, added to the edition of this Life published at Oxford, 1812, where the oath occurs three times, in two of them the persecuting clause is extant.

The observation ought not to be omitted, and besides other inferences, it will account for the variations which appear in the different specimens of the oath under consideration, as well as other variations which might be specified, that his holiness availed himself of the discretionary power properly belonging to infallibility, to make such alterations in the oath as policy might dictate. This

fact, if it needed any confirmation, is expressly affirmed by Catalani. *Certe, ut manu scripta omittam, liquido constat, etiam Pontificalia edita in ipsa juramenti formula aliquantum variare.* Pont. Roman, tom. i. p. 184*. How far this and other variations are reconcilable with the following extract from a Constitution of Clement VIII., concerning the Pontifical then published, and bearing date 1596, let those concerned determine. *Statuentes*, says the short-sighted Pontiff, assuming to himself the royal style of the plural number, *Pontificale prædictum nullo unquam tempore in toto, vel in parte mutandum, vel ei aliquid addendum, aut omnino detrahendum esse, &c.*

The present historic deduction of so important a document, however imperfect, will answer one main object of the author, should it contribute to excite public attention, and elicit more correct and extensive information of any importance respecting a subject which has a great and growing interest.

It may be proper to take some notice of the allowed omission of the persecuting clause ; and the fact cannot be better stated than in the Digest of Evidence on the State of Ireland, by Phelan and O'Sullivan, Part ii. p. 9. 'In the year 1785, a Roman Catholic ecclesiastic of Russia, when taking the oath at his consecration as Archbishop of Mohilow, stopped at the clause which enjoined the persecution of heretics, and refused to recite it. The ceremony was broken off, and information sent to the Pope ; but as the Archbishop elect acted with the concurrence of his sovereign (the Empress Catherine), and could not be shaken from his purpose, the Court of Rome was compelled to yield, and the clause was omitted. Ireland was at that time convulsed by religious feuds,

* A Pontifical in my possession, of the date 1543, printed at Venice, has the oath of an extent somewhere in the mean between the first and the last. It wants the persecuting clause.

almost as violently as at the present day; and when the account of this Russian transaction arrived there, it attracted much notice. In the end, the titular hierarchy found it expedient to apply to Rome for a similar change in their oath.' If the permitted omission is adopted, it is easy to foresee how long it will be continued. If Russia is *schismatic*, so is England, and *heretic* into the bargain, and both of them alike *rebels* against our Lord the Pope, and, it may chance to be, against his successors. The conclusion of the present oath in Ireland is apparently in favour of the reigning sovereign of the empire. *Hæc omnia et singula eo inviolabilius observabo, quo certior sum nihil in illis contineri quod fidelitati meæ erga serenissimum Magnæ Britanniae et Hiberniæ Regem, ejusque ad thronum successores debitæ adversari possit.* That is, I will observe the foregoing oath, in proportion to my conviction that it contains nothing interfering with the fidelity *due* to the King of Great Britain and his successors. Besides what is considered *due* by the juror, there is nothing beyond but *proportion*; when a straightforward assertion, as the late lamented Archbishop of Dublin justly observed, was obvious, and would have precluded ambiguity. But this is what Rome does not love.

The principal object, however, of the foregoing detail, is of an ulterior and higher description than the simple establishment of a historic fact; and that is, to exhibit the clause in question as a display and monument of the distinguishing and essential character—the animating soul—of the corrupt Christianity of modern Rome. I propose and hope to show, agreeably to the violent import of this clause, that intolerance, coercion, and tyranny, in their extreme extent, are not adventitious properties arising simply from human corruption, and which may attach to systems most abhorrent from persecution, but of the very essence of Popery—not merely an integral

part, but a principle diffusing itself through the whole mass, and constituting it what it is. In this charge against the abuse of one of the best things, and therefore the worst, I do not impute to Popery, as essential, the barbarity with which, under temptation, it has almost invariably been attended. For where submission alone is found, there is no barbarity, but, on the contrary, love and caresses. But I maintain the intolerant and coercive principle to be of so determined and inexorable a character, that wherever submission does not take place, no barbarity, however truculent, exists, from which it will shrink to enforce that submission.

Now this principle is burnt into the consciences of all the ruling members of the papacy by the solemnity of an oath—an oath coinciding with their inclinations and interests, and taken at a time and occasion equally critical and solemn. It is therefore to very little purpose that, when the clamour against this sanguinary clause has created an obstacle to their ambition, they are permitted to omit it, even if this be actually done. It amounts to nothing more than that they cease to profess what no evidence is given that they condemn, disavow, or abandon; and the concession is much of the same value as that of the ruffian, who for a moment hides the pistol in his bosom, that he may not alarm the fears of his intended victim, and risk the success of his own purposes.

But it will possibly be contended that the mere profession of a principle is hardly a sufficient ground from which to infer a correspondent practice. Although the argument to that effect might be confirmed by a consideration of the circumstances of the present case, and that the strength of the principle is so great as to smother the feelings both of humanity and shame, which the open profession would naturally excite, I am content so far to admit the force of the objection, as to allow my

argument to be incomplete, unless, and until, it is substantiated by facts; and those facts in perfect accordance with the persecuting principle. My review will of necessity be rapid, but I trust not superficial.

France, in the thirteenth century, and in her southern provinces, exhibited a cruel and extensive persecution of the poor defamed, as well as persecuted, Waldenses and Albigenses. Here, and at the same time, was established that most infernal of all human judicatures, the Inquisition. August 24, 1572, St. Bartholomew's and the *Lord's* day, is infamously illustrious for the treachery and cruelty with which a popish Prince, actuated by popish principles, assisted by popish counsels, and applauded even by the head of the popish church, devoted to unsuspected massacre ten thousand of his own subjects, being Protestants, in his own capital; and in a few succeeding days, in other parts of his kingdom, to an amount making the whole number exceed forty thousand. This is the statement of Davila*, which is moderate. I know not how to omit on this subject an extract from the curious and scarce work of a contemporary, Camillo Capilupi, entitled *Lo Stratagemma di Carlo IX. contro gli Ugonotti, &c.*† * *Qui non mi pare, che la grandezza di questo fatto meriti che si trapassi senza considerarsi, e ponderarsi la virtù del Re e della Reina, e de loro consultori, nel pigliare così nobile e generoso partito, e la destrezza nel trattarlo, l'artificio nel simularlo, e la prudenza nel tacerlo, e l'ardore ultimamente nell' essequirlo, e la gran felicità nel trarlo à fine; che*

* *Hist. delle Guerre Civili, &c.* London, 1775, tom. i. pp. 306, &c. See likewise Thuani *Hist.* cap. lli.; and the very copious account in the late work of Lacroix, *Hist. de France pendant les Guerres de Religion.*

† *Ed. 1574, 12mo. p. 67.* De Thou discourages this view of the affair, from tenderness, it should seem, to his country. But the preceding pages have set this matter at rest.

per dirne il vero, se tutti queste cose si considerano diligentemente, non solo eglino sono degni d'eterna gloria ; ma, &c.'—quite enough for the generosity, dexterity, artifice, prudence, courage, happiness, and title to eternal praise, of this infernal deed. I will only name the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the persecution which has lately occurred in the old and favourite spot, and has been so satisfactorily traced to its true origin by Mr. Wilks*.

The infamy of Spain is erected on the lofty pedestal of her Inquisition ; there reigning with paramount vigour and execution for three centuries, with her thirty thousand victims of human beings broiled to death, besides far more numerous instances of every other barbarity short of death, for not conforming to an apostate church†.

In the Netherlands, being at the time of the Reformation subject to Spain, and partaking of the benefit just mentioned, fifty thousand in less than fifty years were, in the same cruel manner, and for the same cause, sacrificed to the intolerance of popery‡.

The Irish rebellions, under Charles I. and the father of his present Majesty, although originally civil, attracted the kindred propensity of Catholicity, and acquired the most ferocious form of religious persecution—circumstances not perfectly absent from the disturbances of our own times.

* Persecution of Protestants, &c. 1821. See likewise the 71st Number of the Edinburgh Review.

† Read the valuable Hist. de l'Inquisition d'Espagne, by Llorente.

‡ Fra Paolo Sarpi Conc. Trid. l. v. p. 422. ed. sec. Grotius, in his Annal. Belg. l. i. pp. 16, 17, duod., including *all* the persecutions of Charles V., makes the number 100,000. The supposed contradiction between these two historians supplied Mr. Gibbon with an argument by which he satisfied himself that he had completely demolished the whole credibility of Eusebius's history. See conclusion of his 16th book of what may be called *Polemic Divinity*.

It is hardly necessary to remind the English reader of the brutality, which in the three last years of the short reign of a bigoted Princess, devoted to the horrible death of the stake near three hundred of our Christian ancestors. The authority of Fox and Burnet, to mention no prior or intermediate authors, is, for substance, placed completely above the reach of every interested assailant; however bold or artful*. And that most infernal, although baffled attempt, to destroy all the heads of the nation, when they should be assembled in parliament, at the beginning of the reign of James I., was not more infernal than it was the act and deed not of Papists only, but of popery. The object, by confession, was to restore popery. One of the leading persons concerned, with whom the conspirators consulted, to whom they made religious confession, and from whom they received absolution, was a priest, a Jesuit, and Superior of the English Jesuits. Our State Trials must be convicted of falsehood before these facts can be refuted†.

The few facts which have thus slightly been adverted to are of such a description, that they cannot, ought not, to be forgotten. And it deserves particular remark, that the greater portion of them have been perpetrated by the Inquisition and other courts of judicature—therefore with the deliberation and form of law or justice, and yet with the cruelest mockery of both—therefore, likewise, in the strictest sense, the act of popery. Acts of war, or invasion, or retaliation, or popular tumult and violence, are quite a distinct thing, and not to be brought into the account. Popery is not to be determined simply

* See Richardson's *Popery Unmasked*, in answer to Baddeley's attack upon Fox—a complete discomfiture of the Parsons', and Harpsfields, Redivivi, and who will continue the known lie in their right hand, as long as they can get believers.

† 'There is not one fact in all English history more certain than that plot,' &c., says O'Connor, *Historical Address*, Part II. p. 201.

by its public declarations, although these be sufficiently intolerant, but by its acts, when possessed of power. Its history is its religion. And that history, together with its declarations, proves that persecution is essential to, and inseparable from it. And we may add, that it is the *deliberate, judicial character* of its persecutions which most indelibly fixes upon it the infamy which it has acquired.

Should the adherents of Popery offer at recrimination, they are to be told, that the units of Protestant to the thousands of papal persecution, are yet reprobated, protested against, and, as themselves know by their own experience in this country, without any present existence. They are contrary both to the principles and the professions of Protestantism, or, as we would rather say, Reformed Christianity.

But to return to our charge against the religion of Rome, it must be carefully observed, that what we object to it is not mere principles, but *practical principles*—principles uniformly reduced to practice, whenever an adequate occasion has offered. What we object is not of a theologic description, as is the oath and creed of Pius IV., certainly not chiefly; but is chiefly, if not entirely, civil, affecting the conduct and allegiance of individuals as citizens, who in the case considered not only have a sovereign besides, above, and opposed to their natural and lawful one, but are tutored, and with success, to allow no obstacle to prevent the execution of what they consider their supreme duty. It is impossible therefore to reflect, without a blush, upon the shameful, and (to borrow an epithet which naturally and almost irresistibly presents itself) Jesuitic fallacy, by which the surest, if not only test for discovering a true Papist is confounded with an attack upon theological tenets; and because in such tenets there may be nothing ‘which in anywise affects or interferes with the allegiance or civil duties of

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'his Majesty's subjects,' it is inferred, that he who holds *them* holds no others which *do* affect and interfere with such allegiance and civil duties, and is not to be guarded against in the only way which is feasible.

It is a popular opinion that Popery is changed and meliorated. I believe not a single argument of any solidity can be advanced to this purpose. To propose it as a matter of inquiry would be considered as an insult by a true Papist; although he may have no objection that the opinion should prevail. How can it change? The subjects of Popery are so tied and bound by the chains imposed either by others or by themselves, of all sorts, and of the strongest and most durable substance, that if they change they must apostatize. Let any person consult that familiar, but most important document, the Creed and Oath of Pius IV., which is not only professed and taken by all the Romish clergy with care of souls, but, to entangle them before they are aware of what they have done, imposed upon all converts, at least in this country. Let him then reflect that every professor of this Creed promises and swears true obedience (*veram obedientiam*) to the Pope; and declares that without hesitation he receives and professes *all things* (*omnia*) delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred *Canons*, and by the general *Councils*, and above all that of *Trent*, and anathematizes all the contrary and all heresies, &c., with much more to the same purpose. The constitution of Popery must dissolve before either individuals or the body can legally change. She who sits upon the Seven Hills must be changed by some other power than her own: for herself—*sedet eternumque sedebit*. Before I quit this point I would just direct the recollection of the reader, in that interminable field of obligation, the General Councils, to the particular one denominated the Fourth Lateran, assembled in the thirteenth century, and therein to the celebrated extermi

nating decree, which, however doubted by Dr. Delahogue*, and ridiculed for its antiquity by some papal advocates, is yet recognized as a part of the Pontifical law by Pope Gregory XIII.†, and therefore continues at the present time to be a solemn rule of action to every efficient member of the Roman church. That the obligation to exterminate heresy and heretics is now as strongly felt by Papists as ever, and that the religion of this country is in their view heresy, and the professors of it heretics, are facts to which infatuation alone can be blind.

It is believed, likewise, that the present improved state of society, communicating its influence, silently but irresistibly, to the whole mass, absolutely forbids the recurrence of the atrocities witnessed in former ages. It would be uncandid not to allow some effect to this cause; but its power is palpably over-rated. The rapid change effected in the refinement and humanity of the French nation by the revolution, and which, had its revolting horrors been predicted before they took place, would have drawn nothing but contempt upon the imprudent prophet; more particularly the religious character of the outrages in the late rebellion in Ireland, and the still more recent example of persecution, decidedly and undeniably papal, in the south of France, and which was re-echoed in our senate as long as party could be subserved, by those who are now the most bigoted promoters of papal advancement—are an evidence of no mean weight, that the concurrence of power and provo-

* De Ecclesia Christi, pp. 262, &c. The professor appeals to Collier, as a Protestant. He was such a one as Protestants generally and justly regard with suspicion. If the reader wish to see the whole objection, particularly as respects the Mazarine copy, completely and for ever set to rest, he may consult the elaborate and triumphant answer of the Archbishop of Dublin before the Committee of the House of Lords on the State of Ireland, May 11, 1825.

† Decret. Greg. IX. l. v. tit. vii. c. xiii.

cation alone is necessary to renew, for substance, in the nineteenth, the sanguinary acts of the sixteenth century. The last-mentioned instance will serve to weaken what before, from its defectiveness in some main points of resemblance, was not very strong, the argument from the terms on which Protestants and Roman Catholics live together in some foreign countries.

It has sometimes been alleged in extenuation of popery, generally taken, that it is mere addition—something besides, and beyond, what must be admitted to be good, and in which all Christians agree. This may be allowed; the question is, of what nature is the addition. If (to adopt a metaphor which will best illustrate the subject) the addition to the original and wholesome contents of the chalice be poison, there can be little doubt, that, in the greater number of instances, the two ingredients are so intimately combined, that they are drunk together, and the mixture is entirely deleterious. And should the peculiar case occur, that, owing to the different qualities or densities of the fluids, they may exist in a state of separation, while some indeed may drink the wine alone, others will drink the pure poison. Agreeably to the more favourable part of this illustration, it has been urged, that the Roman church has produced characters of considerable Christian eminence; and the familiar ones of Pascal and Fenelon* have been adduced as evidence of the fact. That these persons were

* These names, however, have not escaped insertion in the Romish Index Prohibitorius, the one under the name *Salignac*, the other under that of *Provinciali*, &c., or the Italian translation of the celebrated *Lettres Provinciales*; and it ought to be known, that the first of these Romanists was a decided opponent of the free circulation of the Bible in the vulgar tongue of any country, and the other denied salvation out of the pale of the Italian church. In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, for the year 1814, may be read triumphant answers of W. Blair, Esq., to the special pleading on this subject of C. Butler, Esq., whose legal skill enabled, and morals permitted, him, almost above any other man, to give a plausible air to falsehood.

real Christians, and that they, and many like them, have existed, and do exist, in her communion, there is no disposition to deny. But it *is* denied, and *that* most resolutely, that they are the natural produce of the religion. They were and are Christians, not in consequence of their popery, but in spite of it. They are the good children in a bad family. It is the natural produce, however, which alone concerns the argument; and for that, the names, which most naturally and justly occur, are such as those, about as familiar as the ones just adduced; of Gardiner and Bonner. The defence, substantially the same, has in this year, 1832, been put in a new form. The *quality* of the mixture has not been questioned: but it makes a very *inconsiderable proportion* of the whole. Just as if, in the common concerns of life, a person calculated with much precision the *proportion of arsenic* in a hason of milk, intended as a composing draught for some inconvenient individual.

An argument *ad verecundiam* has been urged on this subject. We have been referred to the known opinion of religious persons. That the opinion of *some*, to whom this character is cheerfully conceded, is such as many others, to whom the same character is equally due, did not expect and cannot approve, is too plain to be questioned. But with all due indulgence to the tenacity of those with whom it was the original opinion, and to the zeal and self-complacency of those who have become converts to it, when we adduce the names of—all our Archbishops and Bishops, save one, particularly the Bishops of Durham, of St. David's, and of Gloucester, and all of the archiepiscopal and episcopal bench of Ireland in Parliament, with Baron Gambier and Mr. Vansittart, together with almost the whole body of the clergy, particularly those of Bristol, some of the more disinterested of the dissenting body, and the late Dean Milner, though last not least on such a subject—it will hardly be denied,

that the argument in the opposite scale, although it be *ad hominem*, and possibly *ad verecundiam*, is not without an intrinsic character of a more solid and substantial description.

The whole and the designed tendency of the foregoing facts and arguments is, to show and impress the danger, not only to our church, to which we cling as the bulwark of pure Christianity, but likewise to the state with which it is so intimately and beneficially connected, in granting to the professed subjects of a foreign, spiritual, temporal, and supreme potentate, additional power, either political or legislative, especially the latter, in this essentially Protestant empire. In that part of their religion, which is simply religion, however objectionable on other important grounds not now concerned, and which does not interfere with the constitution of a Protestant state, perfect liberty is conceded to them. But when those legitimate bounds are transgressed we must provide for our security. It is our business to tolerate them, and at the same time to take care, that they, against their will, shall tolerate us.

In legislative provisions, particularly on an extended scale, there are only two proper guides—past experience contained in the records of history, and the natural tendencies of things from an enlarged view, both philosophic and moral, of the established operations of causes and effects. These seem to have been totally overlooked by the more popular advocates of the political advancement of the Roman Catholics. For anything that we hear from them, it might be supposed, that popery had never signalized herself, at least in this kingdom, by any overt acts of importance, indicative of her inclinations; and that principles, obligations, interests, reverence for superiors, superstition, imagined merit, hope of future reward, dread of the contrary, &c. &c. are no motives to human conduct.

The writer cannot allow himself to conclude this important subject without requesting a concurrence in the prayers of all who value the best prosperity of their country, that the same Providence, which, at the accession of Edward VI. and of Elizabeth, on the defeat of the infernal plot under James I., and at the blessed revolution, so mercifully interposed to rescue this kingdom from superstition, heresy and tyranny, and has with equal mercy preserved it in that state of freedom, both religious and civil, to the present time—with the whole circle of means under its control, and particularly by dispelling religious indifference, and ignorance, and every other source of danger, would continue to exercise a paternal care over it; and, while it has so many enemies, of different kinds and no inconsiderable power, to employ its vigilance, not suffer it to be oppressed by the addition of so formidable a one as Popery. Under this providence, our main reliance is upon the portion of true Christianity and wisdom residing in our legislature, and particularly upon that branch, which, from its more permanent character, is likely to exercise a peculiar anxiety with respect to the more permanent and essential interests of the constitution. There remains yet another source of reliance, as human means are concerned, with which it will be proper to conclude, and that is, the Coronation Oath of His Majesty, so lately and so solemnly taken, and so different in its object and means from that which has been considered in these pages, *to maintain to the utmost of his power the Laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and* THE PROTESTANT REFORMED RELIGION ESTABLISHED BY LAW.

The DIES INFAUSTUS, April 13th, 1829, has reduced the whole to a practical trial. And what the event has been may justly enough be inferred from the honest and

honourable public recantations of two individuals. There ought by this time to have been thousands more; but, to their true fame, the two shall be recorded in this place*.

The first is that of the Rev. Mr. Brown, in his speech at the meeting in Exeter Hall, Feb. 15th, 1832, for the Promotion of Scriptural Education in Ireland. After having observed that that wayward country had of late been 'wooded with coaxing and coquetting, with concession and conciliation,' this respectable and eloquent Presbyterian minister adds—'And what, my Lord, has been the consequence of all this? I do take deep shame to myself, because I, in common with many others, was a strong and staunch advocate for that great measure of conciliation, though I have seen cause to repent of what I have done—I say I have seen cause to repent of that, and I avow my error, in this place, publicly.'—Hodges's Report, p. 48.

The next honourable declaration to the same effect is that of the Earl of Limerick, in his place in the House of Lords, Monday, the 9th of April, 1832. Having professed himself to have been an advocate of emancipation, and adverted to the oaths and declarations of the party to be benefited, the noble speaker asks—'And what was now the result? He would venture to assert, that there was not one of those oaths, not one of those declarations, which had not been falsified. He lamented, and with sorrow lamented, the course he had pursued on the Catholic question, and he thought it more manly now to come forward and avow his regret.'

Those among the patrons and advocates of the measure, who have omitted this *honest* and *manly* course, may be thus classified:—

1. Those who have continued perfectly *silent* upon the subject.
2. Those who have availed themselves of the safe, but

* Lord Castlereagh, on the 25th of May, may be added.

rather presumptuous, refuge—*how much worse would it have been, if the bill had not passed!* But who made them prophets?—prophets of an event contrary to fact!

3. Those who, particularly on the hustings at elections, continued ostentatiously and boldly, (in manner at least,) *to congratulate the nation on the accomplishment of the great measure.* But the shout has gone on *diminuendo*, through the whisper of a faction, till it has reached the repose of almost absolute silence.

The nation seems devoted to its career of presumed liberality. There are two cases in which those who have no other liberality are often liberal—they are liberal of what is not their own; and they are liberal of what they do not value. This principle, connected with the natural tendency to idolatry of all kinds, will perfectly account for the present degraded state of the national conscience and conduct. In the pursuit of a visionary and delusive amelioration, the nation has even already made a considerable progress in real slavery. We have, perhaps, escaped the judgment of falling into the hands of Him whose mercies are great, to incur the heavier, but richly-deserved one of falling into the hands of those who will possibly show that even their *tender* mercies are cruel. The dominant faction and their main supporters have, by almost every expression of indifference and antipathy, turned their backs upon God. They have got rid of the religion, not of one question only, but of all. And now we stand upon the brink of a fearful anarchy: sedition is encouraged and preposterously punished by the same authority: every Christian institution is marked out for proscription: public violence is suggested and virtually invoked: a reign of intimidation and unprincipled despotism is established and in operation: the times have returned, when princes are to be bound with chains, and nobles with links of iron, although not by saints; and

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libels of rampant atrocity against the dignity of the crown itself triumph in connivance and assured impunity. The shafts of venal malignity have not spared even the illustrious and exemplary partner of royalty; nor indeed is it a matter of much surprise, that the champion of one queen of one character should be the calumniator of another queen of an opposite character*. The extremes of society are now for the first time combined in a common insurrection against religion and even morality, against loyalty and the reign of law. 'All the foundations of the earth are out of course:' and it may be asked with anxiety, 'If the foundations be destroyed, what can the righteous do?' The pious king has given his and our answer—'The Lord is in his holy temple, the Lord's throne is in heaven: his eyes behold, his eyelids try, the children of men'—and what follows in that appropriate Psalm, the eleventh. This is our only remaining hope and consolation. There are some righteous—some unseduced, among us; and God, whatever a class among us may think or wish, has not forsaken the earth,

* See *THE TIMES Newspaper*. The manner in which this journal has systematically allowed itself to deal with truth is beginning to procure for it an important portion of its due reward—perfect and unlimited distrust.

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LONDON:
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES,
Stamford Street.

SUPPLEMENT
TO THE
LIFE AND PONTIFICATE
OF
SAINT PIUS THE FIFTH,
&c.
CONTAINING
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

BY
THE REV. JOSEPH MENDHAM, M.A.

LONDON :
JAMES DUNCAN, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

MDCCCXXXI.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES,
Duke Street, Lambeth.

SUPPLEMENT,

&c. &c.

Page vii.

The Acta Sanctorum are referred to.

The portion appropriated to Pius V. in that gigantic collection is from page 616 to 719. The *Life of Gabutius* occupies from 617 to 714. The next article is, *Analecta ex Relatione Auditorum Rotæ, facta Urb. VIII. an. 1627*, pp. 714-7. The whole is closed with *Notula Miraculorum post mortem ex processibus sumpta*—Rom.—Auxim.—Fanen.—Bonon.—Derton.—Mediol.—Bergom.

Page xiv., 4th line from the bottom.

In the *Scriptores Ordinis Prædicatorum, &c.*, a Quetif et Echardo, Tom. ii. pp. 219-21, Lut. Paris, 1721, where an account of our pontiff appears, are enumerated—*Epistolæ aliquot gravium virorum de P. V. 1567*. 12mo; Hieron. Manfred. *Vita 1586*; *Vita del SS. P. V., 1661*.

Page xv., at the end of the first paragraph.

There is a small biography of Pius thus entitled, *Brevis Enarratio Gestorum Sanctissimi Pontificis Pii Papæ V. Ex Processibus et probatis auctoribus digesta. Per F. Archangelum Carracciam de Repulta Sacræ Theologiæ Mag. Ord. Præd. Romæ, 1625. Superiorum Permissu*. 12mo, pp. 108, cap. vii. Pp. 1-79, contain ten epistles from and to Germanus at Rome, and extracts from others, in commendation of Pius, of the date of 1566 and 1567. These are of inferior importance, and the rest of the life supplies no new facts.

Page xvi.

I am forward to correct an erroneous quotation from an eminent and respectable Romanist. I trusted to what I presumed to be an accurate quotation, but the substantial misrepresentation, it will be seen, is none.

Francis Plowden, Esq., Conveyancer of the Middle Temple, in a large pamphlet, published in 1794, in London : ' The Case stated, occasioned by an Act of Parliament lately passed for the Relief of the English Roman Catholics,' in words rather memorable, has declared, ' If any one says, or intends to insinuate, that in this respect,' (the relation of their religious tenets to the civil polity of their country,) ' the modern Roman Catholics, who are the objects of the late bounty of Parliament, differ in *one iota* from their predecessors, he is either deceived himself or HE WISHES TO DECEIVE OTHERS. *Semper eadem* is not more emphatically descriptive of our religion than of our jurisprudence.' The limitation, ' in this respect,' may seem to dilute the strength of the declaration, but it is to be remembered, that *civil allegiance* is the very subject in question. The identity, too, of the Committee, of which Mr. Plowden was the organ and advocate, with their predecessors, is ambiguous. Either the predecessors were of the same principles with the Committee, which, in the main, is false; or the Committee of the same as their predecessors, which may be, probably is, true, but would be, and is, resolutely denied. But the *semper eadem* is sufficiently comprehensive, and implies what is seldom admitted, that the religion of Roman Catholics includes their politics. At page 134 may be read an Encyclical Letter of three Vicars Apostolic, condemning the Oath proposed by the Committee. These are schisms in papal unity which cause the publications recording them to disappear in a mysterious but effectual manner. There will remain a copy of the work here referred to in the British Museum, till it suffers the fate of some of the Waldensian MSS. in the University of Cambridge.

Page 5.

For Gregory VII., read John XXIII.

Page 12, line 3d from the bottom.

There is a rather extended account of this affair in De Porta's *Hist. Reform. Ecc. Raet.*, Tom. ii. pp. 231-7. Unfortunately there was too much ground for the objection on the point of his morals. But although he was suspected of Zuinglianism and Calvinism, and his cause was brought to Rome, the Pope, in consequence of the interference of his friends, thought good to confirm his election to the bishopric.

Page 22, end of first paragraph.

The Spanish biographer exclusively records the miraculous punishment of a certain Calvinistic preacher, Burito, who, vituperating Pius in the pulpit at Oxford, became raving mad, and died in eight days.—Fol. 45, 46. I was in considerable difficulty who this Burito might be, but supposed it might be the Spanish way of pronouncing Wright. I was confirmed in this opinion by reading the same name in Ribadeneyra's *Scisma de Ing. Writo*. Referring, then, to Strype's *Annals*, under 1561, I found the whole story, and discover that the original author is the desperate and worthless Sanders. Fuenmayor, however, is unfortunate in his chronology, for at the year in which the event took place, our Pius was not pontiff: but in the ratiocination of a papal, one head is as good as another. Independently, however, of gross failure of accuracy in the story, in seeking for divine judgments, a speculation not absolutely forbidden, but to be indulged in with great caution, we should rather consider this, if any, as inflicted upon the dubious individual, in consequence of his conformity with the religious changes of the reigns in which he lived, and on the principle of that divine remonstrance, 'What hast thou to do to declare my statutes, or that thou shouldst take my covenant in thy mouth?'—Ps. i. 10.

Page 37, at the bottom of the paragraph.

After the word *communion*, add, to induce him.

Page 38, at the bottom of the note.

There is a book of considerable value, and of no common occurrence, by another Irishman, the Popish Mass, by Rev. And. Meagher, printed at Limerick, 1771, in defence of which another, less common, was published in the following year, and apparently at the same place, entitled, Truth Triumphant, or Popery Dissected, being a Refutation of the Word to the Wise, &c., by Eusebes Misopseudes. At page 15, where a conversation is repeated, and where the speaker, a Papist, directing himself to Mr. W-lsh, author of the Word to the Wise, writes respecting Meagher's book, 'some of yourselves say you would not for a thousand pounds look into it:' we read in a note on the passage—'This is a fact; for a priest in my neighbourhood made this declaration not long ago in public company.' Dr. Alex. Geddes has given us some information on the same subject.

Page 39, line 20.

The subject is Transubstantiation, as represented in the Tridentine Catechism.

The passage to which I here particularly allude is in the original, p. 142, first edition: 'Jam vero hoc loco a pastoribus explicandum est non solum verum Christi corpus, et quicquid ad veram corporis rationem pertinet, *veluti ossa et nervos*; sed etiam totum Christum, in hoc sacramento contineri.' Mr. Donovan's translation is: 'The pastor will also explain to the faithful, that in this sacrament are contained not only the true body of Christ, and all the constituents of a true body, but also Christ whole and entire.'—P. 226. Where are the *ossa* and *nervi*, the *bones* and *nerves*, instanced as an *example*, *veluti*, and extendible to all the *other* parts of a true body? Genuine Transubstantiation is pure cannibalism, or it is nothing.

SUPPLEMENT.

Page 60.

From "He might possibly," &c., to "so?" in the first line of the next page, expunge, and substitute the following.

The Cardinal of Lorraine did, indeed, entertain the fathers at Trent, in 1562, as Paleotto in his *Acta* relates, with details of the same description; but neither his credit nor his accuracy are placed beyond the reach of just hesitation. But the principal and most authentic, because printed, source of Gabutius's information is one which, from his silence, and justly, he seems ashamed to designate. There is a work of rather unusual occurrence, and probably meant for circulation only among friends, *Illustria Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Trophœa*, printed at Munich, in 1573, the concluding portion of which is entitled *Furores Gallici*; and as it contains the whole matter found, first in Verstegan, an author of some repute, and afterwards in Gabutius, it is probably the original, if not the only source, from which the *last* of the principal biographers of Pius derived representations, unknown to, or disdained, by the *first*. The relation, indeed, appears to be of English, or Jesuited English, origin and manufacture, and possessing about the average claim to credit of the productions of that family. The author, from the date of the book, had the opportunity of portraying the *Furores Gallici* of St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572, but he wisely preferred the *Furores* of fable to the *Furores* of truth. Our biographer has likewise utterly suppressed any mention of similar, if not equal or superior, outrages on the side of his own communion, although he might have known a small work subjoined to a greater, with the same title as that which he has chosen to follow, *Historia Tragica de Furoribus Gallicis*, ascribed to Francis Hottoman*, of which

* Senebier *Hist. Litt. de Geneve*. Tom. i. p. 336. Gen. 1786. The title of the first edition in 1573 has subjoined, Ernesto Veramundo Frisio Auctore, Edinburgi, 1573, 4to, pp. 135, but both name and place are supposed to be fictitious. See Meusellii, *Bib. Hist.* Vol. vii. par. ii. pp. 311, 2; and Freytag. *Analect. Litt.* pp. 313, 4, there referred to.

a French translation was made in 1573. The St. Bartholomew Massacre, of course, forms a part of this history. Was Gabutius, writing in 1605, ignorant of these records, or did he trust in the ignorance or bigotry of his readers, to acquiesce in his interested and unprincipled statements, without hesitation or inquiry?

Expunge the last two paragraphs, page 253.

Page 95, line 10.

With reference to the Pope's recommendation, that none should be compelled to embrace the Christian religion.

'Neque ad Christianam religionem eos compellendos esse; sed benigne sacra doctrina,' &c. Gabut., 95. This rather observable effort of liberality is an *improvement* hardly warrantable upon the original of Catena., pp. 104-7. But the creature of Paul V. probably had his reason. The conduct and principles of his church are most fairly represented by the charges of Las Casas and the defence of Sepulveda. The papacy did not greatly limit its empire by declining external interference or force. The facility or liberality with which it admitted the baptism of any person, laymen, male or female, of any sect, was a trap-door of sufficient magnitude to bring as many individuals as it could wish into its benevolent dungeon. See Fourth Canon of the Council of Trent, respecting baptism, in connexion with the Fourteenth. Compare likewise the Tridentine Catechism, even in the Rev. rhetorician Donovan's translation, pp. 164-169.

Page 98.

For Clement VIII., read Clement VII.

Page 99, line 17.

I was led into the mistake of giving the date 1570 to the first edition of Pius's Breviary, by Zaccaria. I have seen that edi-

tion: it was published in 1568, and did not proceed from the Aldine press, as from the note it appears that I had supposed.

Page 101, at the end of the Note †.

On the obligation of daily recital of a portion of the Breviary by every Roman priest.

Francis Xavier set out on his Indian mission with no other equipage than his clothes and the Breviary. Tursellini Vita S. F. Xaverii, lib. i. p. 51. ed. 1596. Ant. Bellarmine, when travelling on one occasion, in the disguise of a layman, through a Protestant country, and in company with some reputed heretics, took occasion playfully to ride onward, in order that he might perform the task of the divine office. As his companions moved more leisurely, he took his book out of his knapsack, and discharged his appointed devotions to God; he afterwards rejoined his profane friends.—Vita a Fuligatto, lib. ii. cap. iv. Leod., 1626. The reader of D'Emilianne's Tromperies des Prêtres may recollect the vexation of the Benedictine, who, when he was robbed, had his Breviary left him; and his reception at the hospital, when he offered it as a remuneration for the kindness of the inmates, who, however, declined the offer, observing that they had long since the happiness of losing theirs. But one repented and accepted it, saying, he would get rid of it at the next bookseller's shop.—Lett. iii. The work is translated into English, under the title of Frauds of Romish Monks, &c. See, on the whole subject, Blanco White's Practical and Int. Evidence, &c., pp. 159-161. It was fair enough, and is no matter of surprise, that the punishment of the beneficed for the neglect of the daily recital of their breviary should be the forfeiture of their benefice, since, in cases of non-residence, which was actually encouraged, and therefore extremely prevalent, the only duty necessarily connecting with the benefice was such recital.

Page 108, line 8.

The Officium B. Mariæ.

It may be proper here to say what can be said of the *Officium B. Mariæ*. Even Zaccaria, in his *Biblioth. Ritual.*, i. 135, is at a difficulty upon the subject. ‘*Quid vero dicam de officio B. M. V.?*’ and then, proceeding to different editions and translations, under the titles of *Horæ*, *Heures*, &c., he takes especial care to give no information to the reader. A Protestant, therefore, may be excused some ignorance upon the subject. I have, however, a small but authentic copy, printed at the Plantin Office, at Antwerp, 1623, with the title, *Officium Beatæ Mariæ Virginis. Pii V. Pont. Max. jussu editum*. It is preceded by *Summarium Constitutionis et Indulgentiarum ac Decretorum S. D. N. D. Pii Papa V. super recitatione officii B. M. V.* It purports to be a *Motus Proprius*, published Ap. 5, 1571, abolishing all other officia, particularly translations into the vulgar tongue, and enjoining the use of the present authorized one; at the same time reprobating the superstitions, and especially the indulgences found in some popular ones. Such language would have told for something, had it been uttered before the trade in such merchandise was ruined. In the end of the document, however, for the encouragement of the faithful, indulgences of fifty days of relaxation of penance are, with the usual authority, granted to those who, without being bound, recite this reformed office. Those who *are* so bound are provided with *their* indulgences, and others are added for additional performances.

Page 150, end of the Note.

Michael Reniger, a nearly contemporary authority, *De Pii V. et Greg. XIII. Romanorum Pontificum Furoribus contra pot. princ. Elizabetham*, 1582, has the following passage, cap. v. fol. 59: ‘*De Johanne Feltono, &c. Bullam—Londinensis ad valvas Paulini Templi in confiniis affixit: Anno Domini ut*

Nichol. Sanderus* disertis verbis narrat M. 570. in ipso (ut gloriatur) corporis Christi festo †, &c.

Page 156, line last of the text.

For *crucified Saviour*, read *Lamb of God*.

Page 157, line first.

Respecting the Agnus Dei.

They are thus described by P. P. Vergerio: ‘Agnus Dei.—Nosti hoc quid sit? sunt tenuissimæ partes cæræ (sic) forma orbiculata ut solent esse sacrificulorum hostiæ; cum agno, vexillulo, et cruce impressa.’—Vergerii Opp. adv. Papatum. Tub. 1563, fol. 394. v. I have a figure of the thing in a Roman production, entitled, *Rito, ed Uso delle Cere Sagre volgamente chiamate Agnus Dei*. In Roma, Nella Stamperia della Rev. Camera Apostolica, MDCCLIX. The virtues ascribed in this late and authentic document to the consecrated amulets are six in number; and include security against almost every possible calamity. Their miraculous effects are incontestably proved by other miracles. But, it is prudently added, if they fail of being produced, the fault is not in their efficacy, but in the want or weakness of faith, or some other occult cause, for which it pleases God not to grant such favours. ‘Che se non sempre le stesse grazie si ottengono, difetto non è della loro efficacia, e vertù, ma vuole attribuirsi a mancanza, o debolezza di fede in chi ne fa uso, o ad altra occulta cagione, per cui a Dio non piace concedere somiglianti grazie, e favori.’ Enough may be seen of these waxen charms in the *Cæremoniale Rom.*

Page 167, line 3.

For ‘not printed,’ substitute, he could not mean simply printed, for that was done *separately* long before; nor collected, for, &c.

* De Vis. ecc. mon. li. 7.

† May 25, in 1570.

Page 169, end of Note.

The British and Protestant public is highly indebted to the candour and honour of the writer of these remarks, Dr. O'Connor. But while we cannot refrain from heartily concurring in the indignation which, throughout his work, he expresses against the exercise of *foreign* influence in his church, we are surprised that it should have escaped his acuteness, that such influence is absolutely inseparable from the very nature and constitution of that church, in every atom of form in which it can exist. All is Roman, and therefore foreign, with it.

Page 172, third line from the bottom.

For *uninitiated*, read initiated.

Page 173, lines 7 and 8 from the bottom.

Read, five copies of the Bourdeaux Testament in England.

Page 182, end of Note.

There is some additional fact and strength in the representation given by Giovamb. Adriani in his *Ist. de' suoi tempi*, ed. 1583, p. 884. Pius had provided the fleet with spiritual instructors. 'Que' religiosi mandativi dal Pontifice andarono da galea a galea a reconciliar con Dio i soldati, e a dar loro animo a combattere con vive ragioni; affermando che non poteano non vincere, o morendo, o campando: parimente vi si era spiegata l' indulgenza del Papa, che dava rimessione di tutti i peccati a chi combatesse con li infedeli,' &c. Did these accredited expositors *explain* to their militant audience the Pope's indulgence as meaning nothing, or as meaning everything, which the words express? St. Thomas of Aquino, as quoted by Collet, *Traité des Indulgences*, tom. i. p. 254, writes rather ambiguously—'Tantum valent quantum prædicantur, dummodo ex parte dantis sit autoritas, et ex parte recipientis caritas, et ex parte causæ pietas.' It is sometimes expressed more concisely, 'Tantum valent quantum sonant.'

Page 186.

I have unintentionally, and therefore, I may hope, without offence, given the Master of Dulwich College a Doctor's degree. Perhaps it might be thought that he deserves one.

Page 188, line 6.

On the mention of the Bishop of Acs, or Dax.

In a MS. volume of Itineraries of different papal legates, procured in Italy by the late Earl of Guilford, and now in my possession, occurs that of Cardinal Alessandrino to the Spanish, Portuguese, and French sovereigns, written, as the conclusion purports, by the Master of the Ceremonies, accompanying the embassy, rector of a church in Macerata, and whose uncle, J. F. Fermano, had enjoyed the office before him. When the legate and himself were at Dax, he speaks of the bishop as sent by the king on some business to the Grand Turk: 'Non tamen sine scandalo, et, quod pejus est, dicebant omnes palam, quod dictus episcopus erat hereticus, et secutor Ugonottarum, quamvis ego non audierim a nobilibus, sed tantum a plebe, quod difficile credidi.' The Pontiff, however, thought with the vulgar. This MS. Latin Itinerary, of which an Italian duplicate, in part, but independent, follows, is very curious, and throws more light upon the object of the legation, particularly as France is concerned, than might have been expected. It may just be added, that the legate's refusal and subsequent acceptance of the ring from the French monarch, although not stated in this Itinerary, is yet illustrated by an exactly parallel relation as to the king of Spain. When the legate left the Spanish court, Philip offered him a very costly *credenza*, which, agreeably to the Pope's prohibition respecting all presents, he declined. The affair is related with some detail in the Italian account; but in the more concise Latin one, the writer, after the words, 'Noluit acceptare,' adds, 'recipiet tamen, ut credo, in Urbe Romæ de licentia Sanctitatis Suxæ.' Roman licenses

will repeal any prohibition, or nullify any obligation. On account of the importance of this document, I will give a rather extended abridgment of the whole.

ITINERARY OF CARDINAL ALESSANDRINO.

In a consistory of the Pope and the sacred college, for the express and exclusive purpose the Cardinal was created Legate to the three kings, June 18, 1571, and began his journey immediately.

The first and, perhaps, main part of the Diary is occupied with the usual trifles of Papal parade and superstition. The unfortunate writer, who attended the legation as Master of the Ceremonies, was attacked by a fever, as he says, for his sins, and was detained a week in his journey, after which, being recovered, he rejoined the Legate, who travelled by land, at Avignon. He here observes, that he passed the Lake of Geneva and neighbouring places with the greatest danger, on account of the infinite number of Huguenots with whom he was often obliged to sojourn, but who, he adds, treated him well (*benè me tractarunt.*)

The Legate, in passing through the south of France, and particularly in the neighbourhood of Talart, as we read under 8th of August, was in great alarm from the presumed number and temper of the Huguenots, and was suitably defended by the authorities of the place. It was, however, esteemed miraculous that the legate, though he always appeared publicly, preceded by the Cross, encountered no insolence towards himself, his religion, or his church, against which the Huguenots, like rabid lions (so the writer expresses himself), rise and roar, desiring nothing but the extermination of the Pontiff and the whole court.

At Avignon, where the Legate and the Master of the Ceremonies met on the 13th instant, a quantity of ceremony, as

might be expected from local reminiscences, took place, among which the most observable is a benediction publicly pronounced by his eminence, and indulgences of three years, and as many quarantenes published by his cross-bearer and chaplain. It should be added, that they heard a sermon from a Spanish Dominican, characterized as 'satis lungus [sic] et tediosus.'

On the 23d instant, the company arrived at Perpignan, and on the 24th, St. Bartholomew's day, which it is impossible to notice without carrying on our thoughts to that same dreadful day in the very next year, mass was celebrated and three years' indulgences distributed. In going from his residence, and passing through the church, the Legate was, says our diarist, almost *suffocated* with a crowd of women, pressing to kiss his hands, and to obtain indulgences for their rosaries, which is designated as beautiful devotion. At another place, soon after, the Legate was obliged to comply with similar requests, lest he should be again suffocated.

After much uninteresting preparation and discussion relative to the forms of entering the capital, the legation arrived at Madrid, on the 1st of October; and the Master of the Ceremonies complains feelingly of the ignorance and irregularity displayed, particularly by Cardinal Spinosa, in their reception, charging him roundly with vanity. A principal grievance was, the denial by the king of the canopy of state, the baldacchino, at the entrance of the Legate. The most remarkable incident of this royal visit was, the news which arrived on the last day of October of the naval victory over the Turks, and of which a considerable portion of the form of thanksgiving used on the occasion, which has some interest, is given. The rest was all pomp and ceremony, and abundance of both.

The legation departed on the 14th of November, the Legate having been offered, and having refused, a valuable present from the king. The writer believes that he would receive it at Rome by license of the Pope.

The progress towards Lisbon has nothing remarkable ; but on the arrival of the legation in that capital, the sensitive narrator stigmatizes the Archbishop with even greater ignorance and mistake, relative to the ceremonies due on the occasion, than he had charged upon the Spaniard ; and the two instances together put him into such a fit of displeasure, that he sets about a regular dissertation upon the duties of the functionaries on similar occasions. There is literally nothing worth repeating in the account of the Portuguese legation ; and on the 13th of December the Legate left Lisbon.

It is enough to say that, in his progress towards France, he went by way of Bayonne.

He arrived at Dax on the 21st of January, 1572. At Bourdeaux, on the 28th, he performed mass, where few attended, as the greater part of the city were of the religion of the Huguenots.

Having passed through three other places, the Legate came to one which our author calls Egro. And here we begin to be repaid for the drudgery of toiling through the former part of this Itinerary. ' On the 2d day of February, the Legate celebrated mass in a certain church, sufficiently defiled by the industry of the Huguenots. Being then joined by nine of his officials, he hastened to the royal court, and this he did that he might not stumble upon the queen of Navarre, the protector and head of the heretics, who was going to the same court, hoping to escape the scandal which might be the consequence of their junction : and rightly, for as she rested in a certain town, he pursued his journey without seeing her. The rest of the prelates in his company went in their usual way to the court [at Blois] with great inconvenience and want of necessities ; for the said queen was accompanied with a great number of horsemen, who consumed everything in the way. The object of the queen was, to effect the marriage of Margaret, the king's sister, with her son, the prince of Navarre, the certainty

of which was publicly affirmed by the heretics of that kingdom. The object of the Legate was, with others, to urge the marriage of the same princess with the king of Portugal. This caused us much anxiety on the way, and the more, because threatening and bitter speeches of the queen's soldiery and friends were reported to us.'

Through Cur the legation passed to Poitiers, where they found the 'diabolic queen of Navarre,' (*diabolicam reginam Navarrae*,) and experienced great difficulty of provisions.

On the 5th instant, and at Tours, the dreaded queen was again in their way, and they halted.

On the 6th, the Legate reached Embrun, where the king personally met him, and together they proceeded to Blois, the royal residence.

The Legate retired to a neighbouring town, and on the 7th visited the king, who came out of his palace to meet him; then the queen-mother; then the queen, with whom was Margaret, the king's sister.

On the 10th, being a Sunday, mass was performed by the Legate, and he had the mortification, which is observed, of witnessing by genuflexion more honour paid to the king than was to the Pope. His eminence dined with the king, but the writer infers, from what he saw, that the repast was attended by little cordiality or satisfaction on either side.

On the 11th, the Legate visited the two royal brothers, and in the evening went to the queen-mother, exhorting her to give her daughter to the king of Portugal, but he laboured in vain.

The 12th was signalized by nothing.

The 13th was spent in masquerades.

On the 14th, the queen-mother, with Margaret and the Cardinal of Bourbon, retired to a neighbouring village, where they were met by the queen of Navarre, who came to settle about the proposed marriage, and who did not visit the king till the Legate had left

On the 19th, the Legate pressed the two points, that the king should be included in the league, and that he should give his sister to the king of Portugal, neither of which did he accomplish.

On the 23d, the Legate begged leave of departure, which took place the next day.

On the 2d of March, the Legate came to Lyons, where, says our author, there were five thousand Huguenots and heretics, who frequented their depraved (*pravissimas*) services at a small distance from the city*.

The Legate hastened homeward, as he had intelligence on the way of the dangerous illness of the Pontiff.

On the 24th, the festival of the Annunciation, the Legate celebrated mass at Florence, and without further delay proceeded to the city, where he found the Pope so ill that, although he lived many days, he found it impossible to communicate to him fully the result of the legation to the kings, and, adds our author, what is more, could never obtain of him that he should create some cardinals for whom he wished that honour.

In a few days after the chief Pontiff departed; and, owing to the extreme pain of his disease, never understood the labours of the fore-recited legation.

Page 194, line 9th from the bottom.

Respecting the Pope's objection to the marriage of the king of France's sister with the Prince of Navarre.

Adriani writes, that the Pope was closely pressed on this point, and urged to grant, if not a *public*, a *secret* dispensation; but Pius was immoveable, and would grant neither the public nor the secret, adding, with some dignity, that to God nothing was concealed.—Ist. p. 898.

* We know the history of Lyons at the Massacre.

Page 202, at end of the Note.

Adriani only says, respecting the head of the admiral, that it was severed from its body, 'spiccata la testa dal busto'—nothing more. But *why* was this done at all? In the indignities offered to the body, the papal historians differ little from Protestant ones.—Ist. p. 919.

Page 212, line 13.

In the contemporary *Annali di Gregorio XIII.*, by Giampietro Maffei, edited in a genuine state by Carlo Cocquelines, under the auspices of Benedict XIV. at Rome, in two vols. 4to, 1742, a view is given of the Parisian Massacre, in every material respect, and remarkably, agreeing with that presented in the preceding pages. After observing that the joy of the Pontiff on the receipt of the news was temperate and decorous, and that he published a jubilee on the occasion, the annalist proceeds to write, that a knowledge of the *causes* of the event will throw great light on many things. He states accordingly, that King Charles, finding it impracticable by open force to deliver himself from the Huguenots, determined to try whether he could gain his object by stratagem, (se l' astuzia potesse giungere la forza.) Having, therefore, made with his enemies an insincere peace (dissimulatamente, in 1570, and mind, reader, two years before the massacre,) he set himself to cajole their chiefs by all sorts of caresses. Persuading himself of the hostile intentions of Coligny, he was confirmed in the course which he had adopted, and continuing his blandishments to the admiral, calling him his father, he gave him the command of a *fictitious* expedition against Flanders, but intended *really* for Rochelle. In pursuance of this object, the admiral was prevailed upon to offer three hundred gentlemen, the flower of the Huguenot army, and to bring them into Paris. Maffei then attests the fact of a fictitious dispensation for the royal nuptials about to take place. The king declares to Coligny, that, being unable

to trust the Guises as he could him, he had taken the precaution to introduce into the capital twelve hundred archibugieri for their joint security. The unsuspecting soldier believed his sovereign, and on the strength of that confidence the king was enabled to place in the capital not only those twelve hundred, but additionally a much greater number of forces without its being noticed (*molto maggior numero di gente, senza che alcuno li ponesse in considerazione.*) The wound given to the admiral is then related; and a compendious account of the massacre, with nothing remarkable, closes the whole.—Tomo i. pp. 33-41.

Page 212, line 20.

After *imputation*, read, of a falsehood fabricated for the purpose of discrediting the holy apostolic Roman Catholic Church.

Page 220, at the end of the Note.

Of the hospital of Saxia in Urbe in Rome, and likewise of the church attached to it, a satisfactory account may be read in *Roma Ant. e Mod.* Tom. i. p. 127, &c. Rom., 1765, where it appears that they derived the name of Saxia, a corruption of Saxony, from our Ina, king of the West Saxons, their *founder*. The institution was regarded so meritorious, that, we are told, several pontiffs enriched it with *Indulgences*, of which the above referred to is one; and in more modern times Paul V. extended these cheap but gainful favours to subordinate confraternities, which it was authorised to establish. The particular papal constitutions conferring these privileges may be read at length in the *Bullarium Magnum*, and are referred in the *Repertorium*, or *Index*, under the title, *Archihospitale S. Spiritus in Saxia in Urbe*. In Tanner's *Notit. Monast.*, last edition, under *Essex*, XLVIII. Writtle, Alien Hospital, we have the reference, Part 24, Ed. I. m. 'Frater Algucius prior sive custos ecclesiæ Omn. Sanctorum de Writtele. Lond. dioc. habet literas de protectione, Apr. 27, Pat. 30. Ed. I. m. pro custode domus S. Spiritus

de Writtele. Again, under Ed. II., Frater Leo custos hujus ecclesiæ quæ annexa est hospitali S. Spiritus Romæ, habet literas de protectione. This illuminates the document very sufficiently.

Page 221, line 14.

For *between four and five o'clock*, read, about five ; and see the Tabellæ in Gavanti Thesaur. Sac. Rit. Tom. i. p. 230. Ven. 1713.

Page 234, after Note.

Although Gregory VII.'s canonization was effected irregularly between Paul V. and Benedict XIII., it was, and continues, a real one to all substantial purposes in the Italian portion of the Roman Catholic Church, entitling the individual to the name of Saint, and the privilege of a peculiar office in the Breviary.

Page 241, line 17.

Oldoinus, in his *Additio* to the Life of Pius in Ciaconius, writes : ' Quos vero Christus Dominus noster acerbissimos pro nobis pertulit cruciatus, jugi pene memoria pie recolebat ; ob idque ipsius Salvatoris de cruce pendentis effigiem coram habere consueverat, Apostolicis hisce verbis inscriptis, *Absit mihi gloriari nisi in Cruce Domini Nostri Jesu Christi*, atque hinc usus obtinuit ut imaginem hujusmodi ob oculos habens depingi solet.' Tom. iii. col. 1013. The engravings prefixed to the three principal biographies of the Pontiff, as that which is copied from the last of them and prefixed to this, as well as all others which I have seen, attest the accuracy of the representation given above. Pius VII., perhaps emulating his predecessor of the same name, is the only one who, before or since, appears to have been portrayed with the same accompaniment.

LONDON:
Printed by **WILLIAM CLOWES,**
Duke-street, Lambeth.

HM

JUN 25 1937

